

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

ANNALS
OF
ARCHAEOLOGY
AND
ANTHROPOLOGY

ISSUED BY THE
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

EDITED BY
J. P. DROOP
AND
T. E. PEET

VOL. XIV Nos. 1—2
MCMXXVII

LIVERPOOL
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON
HODDER & STOUGHTON LTD.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
A Local Version of the Sequel to the Odyssey and the Cult of Telemachos in Ithaka. W. R. HALLIDAY . . .	3
Excavations at Sheikh Abd el Gurneh, 1925-26. ROBERT MOND, M.A., and WALTER B. EMERY. (With Plates I-XXXIX)	13
The Site of Hazor. J. GARSTANG	35
Book Reviews	43

A LOCAL VERSION OF THE SEQUEL TO THE ODYSSEY AND THE CULT OF TELEMACHOS IN ITHAKA

By W. R. HALLIDAY

IN the recent volume of Preller-Robert, *Die Griechische Heldensage*, p. 1437, there is a slip or misprint which is worth recording, as it obscures an interesting fact which, curiously enough, appears to have escaped previous notice. The annual offering of certain specified objects of sacrifice is made over by Odysseus, not to Neoptolemos as in Preller-Robert, but to Telemachos, and this, so far as I know, is the only attested example of a definite cult of Telemachos anywhere in the classical world.

The authority is Plutarch's *Greek Question* 14, which is drawn from Aristotle's *Constitution of the Ithakesians* (Rose, Frag. 464), which may be suspected also to be the source of *Greek Question* 34. The passage raises several interesting points:—(1) the possible existence of a local version of the sequel to the *Odyssey* which was current in the Ionian Islands and their vicinity; (2) the alleged genealogical links between Athens and the Ionian Islands which were exploited, if not invented, for political purposes in the fifth century; (3) this unique cult of Telemachos, for the facts of which Aristotle has used an actual *ἑρὸς νόμος*, a suggestion, indubitably right, which I owe to Dr. Farnell.

'Who are the Koliadai in Ithaka and what is phagilos?' are the questions propounded. Plutarch's answer is as follows:—'After the slaughter of the wooers, the friends of the dead men raised a rebellion against Odysseus. But Neoptolemos was sent for by both parties to act as arbiter, and his award was that Odysseus, of the one part, should leave the country and be exiled as a homicide from Kephallenia and Zakynthos and Ithaka, and that the companions and relatives of the suitors, of the other part, should each man pay a yearly recompense to Odysseus for the wrongs done to his house.

'Odysseus, therefore, migrated to Italy (? Aetolia; see p. 5 below). But the recompense he transferred under a religious sanction to his son, and ordered the men of Ithaka to pay it to him. But it consisted of barley meal, wine, honey in the comb, olive oil, salt, and beasts of sacrifice

more mature than "phagiloi." "Phagilos," Aristotle tells us, means "a lamb."

'But Telemachos gave their freedom and citizen rights to Eumaios and his friends, and the clan of Koliadai is descended from Eumaios, that of Boukolidai from Philoitios.'

The story of the award of Neoptolemos can hardly have formed part of any epic tradition. It will not square with what is known of the plot of the *Telegonia* of Eugammon, and it differs profoundly from the conclusion of the *Odyssey*. There, it will be remembered, the struggle is ended by the intervention of Athena in disguise, and a friendly settlement confirmed by sacrifice is reached, obviously upon terms which do not involve the banishment of Odysseus. 'Now that goodly Odysseus hath wreaked vengeance on the wooers, let them make a firm covenant together with sacrifice, and let him be king all his days, and let us bring about oblivion of the slaying of their children and their brethren; so may both sides love one another as of old, and let peace and wealth abundant be their portion.' (*Odyssey*, xxiv. 482-486.)

So wide a divergence from Homeric tradition, as Professor Rose suggests to me, may be held to support the view of Nilsson that Odysseus is a figure of *märchen*, not of saga, a view which I think is likely to appeal with increasing force to any one who embarks upon the labyrinthine mazes of the variations of 'the further adventures of Odysseus.'¹ Nor have these variations the stamp of immemorial antiquity. They all presuppose acquaintance with the *Odyssey*, and all, somewhere or other, betray the process of invention by the development of some hint implicit in some Homeric passage. Where they are local versions, they represent the type of local embroidery round a popular literary theme, very much like the Doone stories, which are now very fairly established in my own part of Exmoor, but none of which existed locally until Blackmore's novel created the demand and provided the inspiration.²

The arbitration of Neoptolemos is found also in Apollodoros, *Epitome*, vii. 40:—'And there are some who say that Odysseus, being accused by the kinsfolk of the slain, submitted the case to the judgment of Neoptolemos, king of the islands off Epirus [*sic*]; that Neoptolemos, thinking to get possession of Kephallenia, if once Odysseus were put out

1. See for example the summary of their ramifications in Preller-Robert, *Heldensage*, pp. 1432-1449.

2. Compare the local legend derived from Watts-Dunton's novel which is now current at Llanrwst, *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (Third Series), v. pp. 142-143.

of the way, condemned him to exile ; and that Odysseus went to Aetolia, to Thoas, son of Andraimon, married the daughter of Thoas, and leaving a son Leontophonos, whom he had by her, died in old age.'

Whether this goes back to a version identical or only parallel with that of Aristotle's *Constitution* is not clear. 'The islands off Epirus' one may suspect to be due to the stupidity of the epitomiser ; on the other hand Plutarch has no trace of the base motive here ascribed to Neoptolemos. But in any case it is clear that Aristotle's *Constitution* brought 'the further adventures of Odysseus' into connection with the oracle of Odysseus in Aetolia, where presumably it made the hero die. The version in the *Epitome* of Apollodoros, therefore, supports the proposed change in the text of Plutarch from *Ἰταλίαν* to *Αἰτωλίαν*, which A. W. Hartmann (*Untersuchungen über die Sagen vom Tode des Odysseus*, pp. 140 foll., quoted in *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, 178 (1921), p. 248) suggested upon the strength of the Scholiast upon Lykophron. It is true that the connection of Odysseus with Italy and Etruria through his sons by Kirke, Agrios and Latinos, is as old as the Hesiodic *Theogony*, 1011 foll., the joint foundation of Rome, by Aeneas and Odysseus, may have been recorded by Hellanikos (Frag. 53 Müller, Frag. 84 Jacoby), and the settlement and death of Odysseus in Etruria formed part of one version of 'the further adventures of Odysseus' as early as Theopompos (Müller, *F.H.G.*, i. p. 296, Frag. 114). Italy, therefore, is not an impossible place of exile in a version retailed by Aristotle. But the certain mention of the Aetolian oracle in the *Ith. Pol.* from which our passage is drawn, and the death of Odysseus in Aetolia in the only other extant version which contains the arbitration of Neoptolemos, may overcome a very proper reluctance to change the received text.¹

The son Leontophonos, whom in Apollodoros the granddaughter of Andraimon bears to Odysseus, is a double of the son who is called by Sophokles Euryalos, in his play of that name, but by Lysimachos (Müller, *F.H.G.*, iii. 339, Frag. 17) Leontophron, whom Euippe the daughter of

1. Schol., Lykophron, 799, quotes Aristotle, *Ith. Pol.* (Rose, Frag. 465) and Nikander's *Aitolika* for the existence of the oracle. The complaint of the Scholiast against Lykophron's combining a version of death in Italy with a mention of the oracle, supports the natural implication that the oracle was regarded as the deathplace and grave of Odysseus. Schol., Lykophron, 805, πῶς δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν Εὐρυτάνῃ καὶ Τυρσηνίοις κεῖσθαι συνέβη ; ἢ ὅτι μετετέθη ἀπὸ Εὐρυτάνων εἰς Πέργην, ἣ ἐπειδὴ μῦθος φέρεται (the other dénouement which equally has nothing to do with the version we are considering), ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν τὸν Τηλέγονον, Κίρκη φαρμάκοις ἀνέστησε καὶ ἐγγάμο Τηλεμάχῳ, καὶ Πηνελόπη Τηλεγόνῳ ἐν μακάρων νήσοις.

Tyrimmas of Epirus bore to the hero. Indeed the Aetolian story looks as though it were an *aition* for the existence of the oracle which has been constructed upon the model of the adventures of Odysseus in Epirus, when he went, after the slaughter of the wooers, to consult the oracle of Dodona, a version of 'the further adventures' which was used also in the *Odysseus Akanthoplex* of Sophokles.¹

As regards Neoptolemos, he is closely associated with Odysseus in Greek legend. It was Odysseus who had fetched him from Skyros, in not the least famous version of the story he accompanied Odysseus on the mission to fetch Philoktetes, and in the *Nostoi* was narrated the meeting of the two heroes on their respective journeys home at Maroneia in Thrace. But the real appropriateness of Neoptolemos as arbitrator in Ithaka is geographical. The great forebear of the Epirote royal house may almost be called the patron saint of Epirus,² and he is the nearest great hero at hand.

The version of 'the further adventures' followed in Aristotle's *Ith. Pol.* brings into prominence the great hero of the opposite mainland, it mentioned the oracle of Odysseus in Aetolia, and probably made the aged hero die there; further, it married Telemachos to Nausicaa (Aristotle, *Frag.* 463 Rose), the princess whose home the post-Homeric Greeks placed in neighbouring Corcyra. In the *Telegonia* the further adventures, it is true, began in Thesprotia, but the concluding double marriage of Penelope to Telegonos and Kirke to Telemachos shows again a complete divergence from the version followed by Aristotle.

I am myself inclined to think that this latter version was in fact a local variant, a feature of which was the localisation of events and characters in the vicinity of Ithaka. That a local version existed in the Ionian Islands, which differed precisely in this respect from the common Greek tradition, and further that it was known to Aristotle, seems to be indicated by a passage in the *Poetics*, xxv. 16, 1451 b:—'The question about Ikarios has been treated in this fashion. The critics imagine that he was a Lacedaemonian. They think it strange, therefore, that Telemachos should not have met him when he went to Lacedaemon. But the Kephalanian story may perhaps be the true one. They allege that Odysseus took a wife from among themselves, and that her father was

1. For the version followed by Sophokles in these two plays see Preller-Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 1441, 1445, and Pearson-Jebb, *Fragments of Sophokles*, i. pp. 145 foll.; ii. pp. 105 foll.

2. See Farnell, *Hero Cults*, p. 316; Preller-Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 1453-1459.

Ikadios not Ikarios. It is merely a mistake, then, that gives plausibility to the objection.' (Compare Schol., *Odyssey*, xv. 16, 'Ἰθακήσιος ὁ Ἰκάριος οὐ Σπαρτιάτης.)

Leaving for a moment the terms of Neoptolemos' award, let us next turn to the Koliadai and Boukolidai. Eumaios the swineherd and Philoitios the cowherd, to whose virtues the villainous goatherd Melanthios serves in the *Odyssey* as a foil, became the typical Greek examples of trusty servitors, and a conversation between them and their master was a favourite theme of decorative art. For an example see the gem figured by Schmidt in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. Philoitios. It is interesting enough that there were people still in Ithaka in the time of Aristotle who traced their descent to these Homeric worthies. 'In the time of Aristotle, rather than, with Farnell, 'in the time of Plutarch' (*Hero Cults*, p. 326), keeps us meticulously on the safe side of the evidence. For as regards fact Farnell is probably right. Such venerable ancestries were highly prized and proudly recorded in imperial times, as by the Argive priest Titus Statilius, son of Lamprias, Menecrates Memmianus who traced his lineal descent from Perseus and the Dioskouroi (*C.I.G.* 1124; compare *ibid.* 1340 Dioskouroi, 1353 and 1355 Herakles and Dioskouroi, 1374 and 1349 Poseidon). As in all the examples I have cited, such claims to heroic ancestry were usually bound up with hereditary priesthoods, e.g. the Antheads of Halikarnassos, or with hereditary religious burdens, e.g. the Aianteioi of Lokris whose hereditary obligation it was to supply the Lokrian maidens to be sent to the Troad. Whether or not the Koliadai and Boukolidai performed hereditary religious duties in connection with this cult of Telemachos it is impossible, without the full text of the passage in Aristotle before us, to be sure. Again it may be due to the accident of our records that a claim to descent from the minor characters in the Homeric epics is, unless I am mistaken, very rare. The only other instance of which I can think is that of the Talthybiadai at Sparta, a hereditary guild of heralds (Herodotus, vii. 134), where there is a special vocational reason for the genealogy.

To suppose that Eumaios and Philoitios were given their freedom and the franchise is, of course, necessary for the genealogist's purpose, That they were so rewarded is nowhere definitely stated in any epic source, but it is not far straining a probability for which support could be obtained by an appeal, not to *Odyssey*, xiv. 63 foll. as Robert, p. 1410, note 3 suggests, but rather, as Professor Rose reminds me, to xxi. 214 foll. where Odysseus promises in addition to the provision of wives and home-

steads that 'ye twain shall be thereafter in mine eyes as the brethren and companions of Telemachos.'

The names of our families belong to a 'Shepherd' or 'Herdman' type of gentile proper name, which was probably not more uncommon in Greece than with us: ὅτι δὲ ὥσπερ Ποιμὴν κύριον ὄνομα, οὕτω καὶ Βούκολος ἐκ προσηγορικοῦ δηλοῖ ὁ Βουκολίδης Σφήλος, Eustathius, 1018, 28. For various name formations from Βοῦς, see Fick-Bechtel, *Griechische Personennamen*, pp. 80, 297, 384. Familiar will be the Eteoboutadai of Athens or the Attic deme of Boutadai. But the Attic parallels go closer yet. Kollidai, according to Hesychius, s.v., was one of the old Athenian clans, and already in *Iliad*, xv. 338, we have the Athenian Boukolides Spheios. Though there is no evidence for the existence of the Athenian noble clan of Boukoloi which is postulated by Wilamowitz (*Hom. Untersuchungen*, p. 249, note 14) there may well have been some connection, at any rate in the eyes of Athenians of the fifth century, between Boukolides Spheios and our family of Boukolidai in Ithaka. For, as Toepffler (*Att. Gen.*, pp. 84 foll., 256 foll.) has shown, a series of genealogical links connecting Athens with the Ionian Islands was well established in the fifth century. In Pherekydes (Schol. *Odyssey*, xix. 432, Jacoby, Frag. 120) the Phokian Deioneus who is here the father of Kephalos, the eponym of the Kephalids of Athens, is also the grandfather of Autolykos, the maternal grandfather of Odysseus. In Hyginus, *Fab.*, 189, Kephalos by Prokris is the father of Arkeisios, whose son Laertes was the father of Odysseus. The general dependence of this *fabula* upon Pherekydes is pretty clear, but we cannot be certain about the particular statement, probable though its derivation may be (Jacoby, note to Pherekydes, Frag. 34). In the Aristotelian *Ith. Pol.*, to turn to that again, the eponym of the Athenian Kephalids is connected with Kephallenia where he begets Arkeisios on the she-bear (Aristotle, Frag. 462, Rose). In Apollodoros, iii. 14, 3 the parents of Kephalos were Hermes and Herse, and the Scholiast on *Iliad*, ii. 173 gives the genealogy Hermes—Kephalos—Kileus—Arkeisios—Laertes—Odysseus.

The antiquity of these genealogical links, in the nature of things, cannot be gauged. The impulse to their invention may merely have arisen from the obvious appropriateness of bringing a hero named Kephalos into connection with an island named Kephallenia. But even if they did not invent them, it will not surprise us that Athenian politicians knew how to turn them to account. The use of mythology as propaganda, as, for example, the justification of the Greek occupation of

Cyrenaica, will be familiar to every reader of Herodotus. Its employment in support of Athenian foreign policy may be illustrated by two instances from the Amphipolis area. Such must surely be the *aition* of the dancing game of the Bottiaean maidens in *Greek Question* 35, according to which Athenian survivors from the tribute to the Minotaur took part in the prehistoric Cretan colonisation of Bottiaea.¹ Such again is the Athenian story of how the Athenian Akamas on his return from Troy landed in Thrace, married the Thracian King's daughter Phyllis, and received as part of her dowry the country round the Nine Ways, which was eventually to be the site of Amphipolis. Though he did not neglect more modern instances, Aeschines claims that he did not neglect to set out this ancient Athenian title to Amphipolis to Philip of Macedon upon the occasion of the famous Embassy. 'Now the facts about our original acquisition both of the district and of the place called Nine Roads, and the story of the sons of Theseus, one of whom, Akamas, is said to have received this district as the dowry of his wife—all this was fitting to the occasion then, and was given with the utmost exactness' (Aeschines, *de fals. leg.*, 31).

The motive for the prominence of the alleged genealogical ties between Attica and Kephallenia in the fifth century is, therefore, no doubt political, and it is connected with the ambition of Athens to extend her influence in this quarter. This in turn throws light, as Toepffer pointed out, upon a famous difficulty in Thukydides. The version of 'the further adventures' which was followed by Aristotle in the *Ith. Pol.* and may have been a characteristically West Greek version, concluded as we have seen with the marriage of Telemachos and Nausikaa. Now Hellanikos (Jacoby 4, Frag. 170, Toepffer, *Att. Gen.*, p. 84) tells us that Andokides the orator claimed to be descended from this marriage. In Thukydides, i. 51 the battle of Leukimne is broken off by the arrival of the Athenian reinforcements under the command of Glaukon and Andokides the son of Leogoras, presumably the grandfather of the orator. But the inscription recording the expenses of the Corcyraean expedition 433-432 is extant, and it gives the names of the strategoi who were in charge of the reinforcements as Glaukon, Metagenes, and Drakontides:—'Either Thukydides makes a slip or Andokides was unofficially attached to the expedition, or, again, the name *Ἀνδοκίδης* is a manuscript corruption of *Δρακοντίδης*. If so, since the name Leogoras seems to belong to the

1. Halliday, *Folklore Studies Ancient and Modern*, p. 113.

family of Andokides, that name must also have been wrongly inserted in the text of Thukydides' (Hicks and Hill, No. 53). Surely in the light of the genealogies we have been considering the theory of manuscript corruption, already difficult, becomes in the highest degree improbable. Nor need we accuse Thukydides of making a slip. He does not say that Andokides was strategos: his words are *ὃν ἤρχε Γλαύκων τε ὁ Λεώγρου καὶ Ἀνδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρου*. We may and do speak of Miltiades winning the battle of Marathon though the commander-in-chief was indisputably the polemarch Kallimachos. What probably happened is obvious. Perhaps Andokides the son of Leogoras was not one of the board of ten generals in that year. If he were not, he could not be in technical command and consequently would not be recorded as general upon the official document. But in view of his ancestral connection, and no doubt the Athenians had been playing these genealogical affinities with the Western Islands for all and more than they were worth, it is easy to see his qualification for being sent to Corcyra at a moment of great diplomatic delicacy as well as of military difficulty. For one can hardly suppose that the Corcyraeans were pleased by the crippling restrictions to the defensive which had been imposed by the half-hearted policy of the Athenian people upon the forces which were sent to their assistance. It is therefore pretty clear that Andokides had been especially attached to the expedition and was probably for this very reason a more important member of the mission than were the generals in a technical sense.

We may turn now to the award made by Neoptolemos. Odysseus is banished for life from his kingdom. Actually this included besides the three more important islands which are here mentioned, Neritos, Krokyleia, Aigilips, Samos and the territory on the mainland, all of which were inhabited by the Kephallenians, as the subjects of Odysseus are uniformly called in the Homeric poems. (See T. W. Allen, *Homeric Catalogue*, pp. 88 foll.)

Although cases of banished homicides like Tlepolemos or Theoklymenos are to be found in both poems, the idea that homicide brings a pollution upon the whole community does not appear to be Homeric. But the exile of the agent as a necessary consequence of even involuntary homicide is a well-known principle of early Greek law.¹ The source of infection must be removed from the community and the process may extend, as in the famous case of the Alkmaionidai, even to the casting

1. On this see Rose, *Primitive Culture in Greece*, p. 201, Pausanias, i. 28 and ii. 29, 10, with Frazer's notes.

out of the bones of the dead members of the clan to which the guilty party belongs, beyond the borders of the state. 'Such exile is not the ordinary flight of the homicide to avoid the avenger of blood; for in the cases where a man is of the same kin as the slain, there is no family avenger, but the whole community in horror cast him out lest the curse should infect themselves.'¹ This idea that a miasma attaches to murder which infects the whole community, was very deeply rooted in the Greek mind, and long after the distinction between deliberate murder and accidental killing had been recognised it continued strongly to colour the Greek theory of punishment for murder. The consequences to the whole community of allowing a murder to go unavenged forms one of the strongest arguments for conviction in the prosecuting speeches of Antiphon's *Tetralogies*: σαφῶς γὰρ οἶδαμεν ὅτι πάσης τῆς πόλεως μαινομένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν διωχθῇ (Antiphon, *Tetr.*, i. a, 3; compare i. a, 11, ii. a, 1, iii. a, 5, iii. c, 7). The further development of the idea of exile as purifying the agent himself by expiation, upon which for instance Julian plays in *Or.* i. 39 D, καὶ ὅπως ἐκλιπὼν ἔφυγε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν τοὺς φόνους καὶ τὰς πρόσθεν ἀδικίας ἐκκαθαυρόμενος, does not belong to the classical Greek period but to the new and more mystical doctrines of the Hellenistic theokrasia. It rests upon a conception of penance and a sense of sin, which came into the Graeco-Roman world from the East.

Odysseus then is to go into banishment; upon the other side, the men of Ithaka are to make a yearly offering to him, which he transfers to Telemachos. The story of the award is in fact the *aition* of a local cult practice, a further additional support to our view as to the local character of the version of Odysseus' wanderings which is followed. That it was a genuine cult practice can hardly be doubted in view of the specification of offerings which in form exactly resembles the similar prescriptions which are to be found in sacrificial inscriptions. No one who is at all familiar with these is likely to doubt for a moment that Aristotle's source was some definite cult regulations. The offering of barley meal, wine, oil, and salt calls for no special comment. *κηρίον* means honey in the comb, and that too figures in analogous rules of sacrifice. For instance in Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 1040, 20 we find prescribed Ἡλίου ἀρεστήρα (a kind of cake) *κηρίον*. Μοίραις ἀρεστήρες III, *κηρία* III.

1. Farnell, *Evolution of Religion*, p. 145. Cf. *Culte of the Greek States*, i. pp. 66-69.

Φάγιλος is obviously a technical term and one which is unlikely to have occurred except in a technical document. It is explained by Liddell and Scott as 'a lamb either when it begins to be eatable or to eat alone.' The latter alternative would seem highly improbable. The Hesychian gloss φάγιλος ἄμνος is probably taken either from this passage or from Aristotle direct. Similar technical terms appear to be φάναος and φανυλός. Hesychius φάναοι ἄρνες. Eustathius, 1625, 38, τὰ δὲ νέα, ἄρνες καὶ ἄμνοί, ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ καὶ φανυλοῦς. The regulations for sacrifice quite normally define the age as well as the sex and species of the victim appropriate to the occasion. The usual broad distinction is between the full-grown animal and the immature (e.g. ἀποδόμεν τοῦ μὲν ἐτέλου ἡμιωβέλιον, τοῦ δὲ τελείου ὀβελόν, Dittenberger³, 1006, 11) or the suckling¹ (e.g. κατασκευασάτω δὲ καὶ θησαυρὸν τῇ θεῷ, ἐν βαλλέτωσαν δὲ οἱ θυόντες ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ τελείῳ ὀβολοὺς δύο, ἐπὶ δὲ γαλαθινῷ ὀβολόν, *ibid.* 1025, 60). This distinction lends the point to Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1500 foll.

φανταζόμενος δὲ γυναικὶ νεκροῦ
τοῦδ' ὁ παλαιὸς δριμύς ἀλάστωρ
Ἀτρέως χαλεποῦ θοινατῆρος
τόνδ' ἀπέτισεν,
τέλεον νεαρῶς ἐπιθύσας.

The sacrifice to Telemachos is to include a sheep, which is τέλειον as opposed to a lamb. (Cf. τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἀχελώϊω τέλειον καὶ δέκα ἄρνες, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 1024, 35). The precise definition of immaturity as implied by the technical term *phagilos*, we have no means of determining. No doubt there were many more similar technical terms in ritual use than those of which we have any knowledge. For instance πρόγονοι (Hesychius s.v., Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 1038, 9) was used of first-born lambs, while the μέιον offered at the Apatouria when the infants were registered, as opposed to the κούρειον which was offered when the hair of the adolescent was cut, was if not a γαλαθηνόν something less than τέλειον (see Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*, p. 233). At Athens there was a taboo upon eating lambs which had not yet been shorn which must necessarily have been an effective taboo also against their sacrifice to Olympian deities, and the priestess of Athena might not sacrifice a lamb nor taste native cheese.²

1. For γαλαθηνὰ ἱερεῖα see references in Stengel, *Die griechische Kultusaltertümer*, p. 155.

2. Philochorus *ap.* Athenaeus, i. 9c, Androtion *ap.* Athenaeus, ix. 375, b-c, Eustathius, *Il.*, 1348, 60, 1485, 55, Tresp, *Die Griechische Kulturschriftsteller* p. 74.

EXCAVATIONS AT SHEIKH ABD EL GURNEH

1925-26

BY ROBERT MOND, M.A., AND WALTER B. EMERY

WITH PLATES I-XXXIX

ON January 1, 1925, the University reopened its work at Sheikh Abd el Gurneh with fifty workmen and boys. By the end of the second week the number of workers was increased to over four hundred, and with this body of men the work was continued until the end of March 1925, to be recommenced in the January of the following year. Our report therefore covers a period of over six months' work.

Before giving the results of our work in detail it would perhaps be best to give a brief summary of the more important discoveries. (See Pl. I.)

THE TOMB OF RAMOSE. Completely cleared of debris. Restorations in the hypostyle hall and gateway.

THE TOMB OF PAHEQMEN. Completely cleared of debris. Reliefs photographed and burial chambers examined.

THE TOMB OF NEKHTAMEN. Completely cleared of debris. Wall paintings hand-copied and burial chambers examined.

THE TOMB OF THOTMOSE. Completely cleared of debris. Burial pits examined.

THE TOMB OF AMENHOTEP. Completely cleared of debris. Burial pits examined.

THE TOMB OF USERHET. Repaired. Burial pits examined.

THE TOMB OF ANENA. Court completely cleared of debris.

THE TOMB OF RAMOSE. Entrance and first hall completely cleared of debris.

THE TOMB OF KHONSU. Inner shrine discovered. Cleared of debris and burial chambers examined.

THE TOMB OF MINNEKHT. Complete clearance of the court.

THE TOMB OF NEFERHOTEP. Partial restoration of the wall reliefs.
 THE TOMB OF THOTSENB. Completely cleared of debris. Burial
 chambers examined.

THE TOMB OF RAMOSE. Plate II

The Burial Chamber

On February 5, 1925, we commenced the clearance of the burial chamber of the tomb of Ramose, the entrance of which had been discovered during the work of the preceding season. Owing to the great length of the galleries leading down to the first hall, we found it necessary to employ a chain of over a hundred boys to pass the baskets of debris to the surface. The gallery is 1.95 metres wide and 1.71 metres high and is cut down to the first hall at an angle of 37 degrees. Steps are cut to the side with the usual sarcophagus ramp down the centre.

The main hall is in an unfinished state, the walls being only roughly faced. The debris, which lay about one metre deep, proved to consist mainly of the masons' chippings, which had not been removed when the work was abandoned. Among this debris no objects of any description were found. It is interesting to note that the main hall was constructed in accordance with the four points of the compass.

On the east wall of chamber 1 is carved a stela which bears no trace of inscription, but the centre line, painted in red to guide the mason, is still plainly visible.

Chamber 2 was perhaps intended to hold a shrine, but as it was left only in a preliminary stage of excavation it is impossible to be certain on this point. On the west of the main hall, to the side of the doorway to chamber 5, is a false door which was probably intended to lead into a chamber which the masons had not yet excavated at the time when the tomb was abandoned.

We expected the burial chambers to come underneath or be in close proximity to the shrine above, but on making the survey, we found that this was not the case. We can only conclude that the direction of the gallery was altered to escape working through faulty rock. Plate III.

The Court

We recommenced the clearance of the court of the tomb of Ramose on January 20, 1925. The work went steadily forward, and by the end

of March the court was cleared of debris as far as the brick construction at the east end. Plate IV.

The mounds of debris above the court formed an interesting example of stratification. (Fig. 1.) There were four distinct layers which we marked A, B, C, and D. These consisted of the following:—

- A. Deposit of limestone rubble.
- B. Deposit of fragments of limestone left from the quarry work of fifty years ago.
- C. A hard deposit of animal refuse, grain and straw.
- D. A deposit of sand and limestone rubble on which the later constructions had been built.

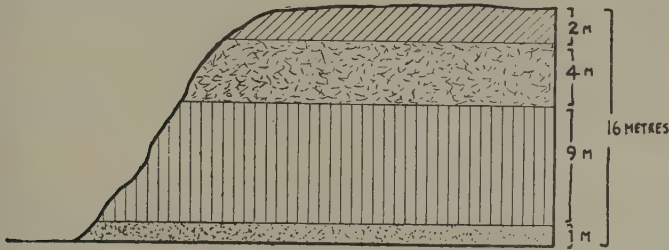


Fig. 1.

Our workmen were so arranged that they were able to clear each layer separately. Plates V and VIa.

On the west wall, to the left of the entrance to the hypostyle hall, we cleared two stele, cut out of the native rock, both of which were lacking inscriptions and were unfinished. Plate VIb. Both of the stele are undoubtedly contemporaneous with the original construction of the tomb.

In front of the doorway to the tomb we uncovered two sandstone pillar plinths, which undoubtedly belong to a later period, probably Ramesside. From their position in relation to the doorway we may conclude that they formed part of the pyramid portico characteristic of this period. (Bruyère. *Deir el Medineh. Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.*)

At the east end of the court we discovered a mud brick construction, probably contemporary with the pillar plinths which may have formed part of a pylon entrance to the court of the tomb.

On the north wall of the court we uncovered the entrance to Tomb A, which proved to be unfinished and uninscribed. During the Coptic period

it had been enlarged and used as a dwelling-place. A hole had been knocked through the east wall of chamber 2 into the hypostyle hall of the tomb of Ramose which we blocked with concrete. A number of plundered mummies were found in chamber 3, but beyond a few blue faience cylinder beads no objects of any description were found on them.

On the south side of the court is the entrance of Tomb 336 which was partly cleared during the work of the preceding season.

By December 31, 1925, we had completely cleared the mud brick construction mentioned above. The gateway had been cut away on the east side to give place to stone door jambs, but of these we found no trace. The step is formed of a large block of limestone roughly faced.

During the excavation of this area we found large quantities of funerary cones on level B.

On January 4, 1926, we uncovered the remains of a plundered burial of the Saitic period, against the north-west corner of the pylon gateway. This consisted of the broken fragments of the coffin, blue faience cylinder beads and an uninscribed heart scarab of green stone.

On January 14 we discovered the first traces of the great stairway leading down into the court. This stairway is cut in the native rock and is over twelve metres long by three metres wide. It consists of twenty-five steps with a smooth ramp down the centre on which the sarcophagus would have been lowered. On the north side of the stairway no attempt has been made to cut away the rock, which was left to form a natural platform. On this platform was built a brick wall, which formed an enclosure round the entrance to Tomb 3, which had been cut in the north wall of the court. Plates VII and VIII.

By January 25 the stairway was completely cleared of debris and our excavation of the tomb of Ramose was brought to an end.

During the work of the two seasons, we found and examined six burial pits in the court, all of which proved to be the work of a later period than the original construction.

Pit 9. Depth of shaft 7 m. Area of chamber 1·85 by 1·12 m. Height of chamber 1 m. Break through in east wall of chamber to Pit 8.

Pit. 8. Depth of shaft 6·85 m. Area of chamber 2·50 by 3·80 m. Height of chamber 1·05 m. Break through in east wall to Pit 7.

Pit. 10. Depth of shaft 7·25 m. Area of chamber 1·55 by 1·47 m. Height of chamber 1 m.

Pit. 11. Depth of shaft 5.85 m. Area of chamber 1.55 by 1.20 m.
Height of chamber 1.37 m.

Pit. 14. Depth of shaft 3.80 m. Area of chamber 3.00 by 1.05 m.
Height of chamber 8 m. Break at bottom of shaft into Pit 15.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

Pit 15. Depth of shaft 4.20 m. Area of chamber 4.10 by 1.05 m.
Height of chamber 1.25 m.

The following is a list of the miscellaneous objects and monuments found in the court and burial pits. Plate XVII.

Cat. No. 25/78. Funerary cone. Dar. 121. From the court, level B. Fig. 2.



Fig. 4.

Cat. No. 26/1. Two fragments of a burnt brick, bearing the impression of a funerary cone. Dar. 249. From the court, level B. Fig. 3.

Cat. No. 26/6. Funerary cone. Dar. 243. From the court, level B. Fig. 4.

Cat. No. 25/29. Burnt clay ushabti, painted in white, red, and black.

Text down centre . Size, 12 cm. high.

From the court, level B.

Cat. No. 25/38. Wooden ushabti. No inscription. Size 16 cm. high. From the court, level B.

Cat. No. 26/19. Wooden ushabti. Traces of bitumen coating. No inscription. Size 25 cm. high. From the court, level C.

Cat. No. 26/25. Twenty-four small clay ushabtiu. No inscription. Size 4 cm. high. From the court, level C.

Cat. No. 26/26. Nine blue faience ushabtiu. No inscription. Size 7 cm. high. From the court, level D.

Cat. No. 26/38. Burnt clay ushabti. Traces of yellow paint. Size 8 cm. high. From the court, level C.

Cat. No. 26/43. Wooden ushabti. Traces of paint. Inscription obliterated. Size 20 cm. high. From the court, level B.

Cat. No. 25/18. Blue faience heart scarab. No inscription. Size 4 cm. long. From the court, level B.

Cat. No. 26/16. Heart scarab of green stone. No inscription. Size 3 cm. long. Found within the remains of a plundered mummy lying above Pit 11.

Cat. No. 26/29. Blue faience breast scarab from a pectoral. Size 6 cm. long. From the court, level C.

Cat. No. 26/17. Fragments of a necklace of faience cylinder beads. Alternate colours of blue, red, white, and green. Size 32 cm. long. From the court, level D.

Cat. No. 26/20. Wooden uraeus, painted in red, yellow, and green. The figure is represented wearing the red crown. Size 15 cm. high. From the court, level C.

Cat. No. 25/53. Wooden plume, probably from the Atef crown of a funerary figure. Inlaid with blue faience. Size 16 cm. long. From pit 11.

Cat. No. 26/152. Lower part of a small limestone statue. Group of two seated figures, male and female. Nothing remains of the male figure with the exception of the feet. The female figure is broken off at the waist. Text painted in blue with red border lines. Text down centre of female figure; see Fig. 5a. Text round

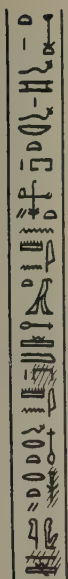


Fig. 5a.

base of statue; see Fig. 5*b*. Size 25 cm. high. From the court, level B. Plate IX*c*.

Cat. No. 26/70. Wooden hoe. The blade is attached to the handle by a socket at the base and by twisted cord in the centre. Size 48 cm. long. From level B above the stairway to the court. Plate IXb.

Cat. No. 26/85. Anthropoid coffin lid of the XXIV Dynasty. The designs, painted in four colours, are crudely executed and of little interest. This object was found a short distance below the surface, where it was left by plunderers in, probably, quite recent times. Plate IXc.

Cat. No. 26/27. Model head-rest of wood. Size 8 cm. long.
From the court. level D.

Cat. No. 26/39. Limestone cap of canopic jar. Head of Hapi. Size 13 cm. high. From the court, level B.

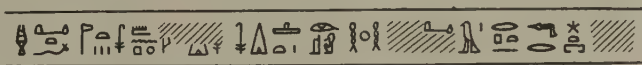


Fig. 5b.

Pottery.

The pottery found during the clearance of the court was, with two exceptions, all anterior to the XVIII Dynasty.

Type X. Pilgrim flask with long neck and bell mouth, two handles, smooth buff slip. Fig. 6. XVIII Dynasty.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.

Cat. No. 26/47. Size 29 cm. high. Marks of suspending straps plainly visible. From Pit 9.

Type IV. Jar with flat base and roll rim mouth. XVIII Dynasty. Fig. 7.

Cat. No. 26/19. Size 18 cm. high. From Pit 7.

Type VII. Jar with pointed base and roll rim mouth. XXII Dynasty. Fig. 8.

Cat. No. 26/109. Size 47 cm. high. From Pit 9.

Cat. No. 26/110. Size 52 cm. high. From Pit 9.

Cat. No. 26/48. Size 41 cm. high. From the court, level D.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

Type VIII. Jar with pointed base and roll rim neck. XXII Dynasty. Fig. 9.

Cat. No. 25/18. Size 40 cm. high. From the court, level D.

Cat. No. 25/32. Size 54 cm. high. From the court, level C.

Cat. No. 25/39. Size 48 cm. high. From the court, level C.

Cat. No. 26/113. Size 39 cm. high. From Pit 9.

Cat. No. 26/115. Size 45 cm. high. From Pit 9.

Type V. Jar with pointed base and bell neck. XXIV Dynasty. Fig. 10.

Cat. No. 25/48. Size 13 cm. high. From the court, level C.

Cat. No. 25/49. Size 11 cm. high. From Pit 7.

Cat. No. 26/58. Size 9 cm. high. From the court, level C.

Type II. Jar with pointed base, fluted neck and bell mouth. XXIV Dynasty. Fig. 11.

Cat. No. 26/117. Size 15 cm. high. From the court, level C.

Type VI. Jar with pointed base and roll rim. XXIV Dynasty.

Fig. 12.

Cat. No. 25/11. Size 15 cm. high. From the court, level D.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.

Type IX. Jar with rounded base and roll rim. XXIV Dynasty.

Fig. 13.

Cat. No. 25/59. Size 52 cm. high. From Pit 11.

Cat. No. 26/50. Size 48 cm. high. From Pit 15.

Type XI. Jar with pointed base and roll rim. XXIV Dynasty.

Fig. 14.

Cat. No. 26/73. Size 57 cm. high. From the court, level D.



Fig. 13.

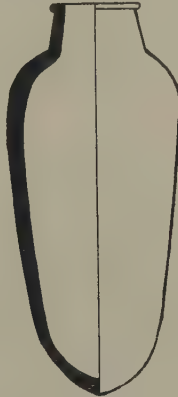


Fig. 14.

The Restoration of the Tomb of Ramose

On October 5, 1925, we commenced our main work in the tomb of Ramose, to which the excavation was only a preliminary. This was the complete restoration and reconstruction of the tomb.

We first turned our attention to the west wall of the hypostyle hall, the upper portion of which had crumbled away when the roof of the hall fell in. After removing all loose stonework, we commenced to rebuild the fallen portion with limestone blocks. As these walls were rebuilt fragments of the original relief, which were found during the excavations, were replaced in their original positions, Plate X. While this work was in progress, we turned our attention to the fallen pillars in the hypostyle hall. From the numerous fragments of these pillars found during the excavations we were able to make an accurate restoration. They are of the papyriform order, with the same proportions as the pillars in the tombs of the nobles at Tell el Amarna.

Our restored pillars are built of an outer shell of burnt brick with a concrete core. The cap is of iron and cement with a hollow space left to receive the bolts which will hold the roof girders in place. The whole outer surface of the pillars is covered with a coating of plaster. Twelve of the pillars in the centre of the hall have been reconstructed, and we calculate that these will be sufficient to hold the roof which is to be erected next season. It has been decided not to reconstruct the pillars bordering the walls of the hall, for owing to their great width they would to a certain extent obscure the reliefs. Fragments on which we have based our reconstruction have in most cases been replaced in their correct positions. Plates XI, XII, XIII.

THE TOMB OF THOTMOSE. Plate XIV

The tomb of Thotmose was discovered on January 24, 1925, during the excavations above the north wall of the court of the tomb of Ramose. The tomb has suffered to a large extent from the quarry work of fifty years ago, the south walls standing to not more than one metre high and those on the north side having completely disappeared. It was probably a later construction than the tomb of Ramose, the workmanship of the few reliefs that remain dating it to the latter part of the XVIII Dynasty.

On the west wall of the second chamber was a shrine containing four figures, only the feet and base of which remain. The south wall of the passage has been carved in relief and painted, but most of the scenes have been obliterated. The name of the owner of the tomb was located on the inner door jamb of the first hall.

During the excavation, three pits were discovered and cleared of debris.

Pit. 1. Situated in front of the shrine in the inner chamber. The cutting of the shaft was abandoned on the discovery of Tomb A below.

Pit. 2. Depth of shaft, 3.25 m. Area of chamber 1.00 by 2.95 m. Height of chamber 1.20 m. Break through in west wall to Tomb A.

Pit. 3. Depth of shaft 3.49 m. Area of chamber 1.00 by 1.25 m. Height of chamber 1.10 m. Break through in east wall to Tomb E.

No objects of interest were found with the exception of—

Cat. No. 26/18. Funerary cone. From Pit. 3. Fig. 15.



Fig. 15.

THE TOMB OF AMENHOTEP. Plates XV and XVI

Our excavations on the south side of the court of the tomb of Ramose resulted in the discovery of the tomb of Amenhotep and Tombs C and D.

From the irregular plan of the court of Ramose it is evident that the tomb of Amenhotep was constructed at some period prior to the greater work. The tomb has suffered to an even greater extent than that of Thotmose on the other side of the court of Ramose. Nothing remains but one inscribed door jamb of the main entrance, Plate XVIa, from which we gleaned the titles: Overseer of the Royal Harim of the High Priestess of Amen Thentipat (Queen of Rameses IV). Fig. 16.

From this evidence we may conclude that Amenhotep usurped the tomb from its XVIII Dynasty owner, Penra, forty-six of whose funerary cones we recovered from the burial chamber of the tomb.

A mud brick construction built before the main entrance to the tomb is probably also of Ramesside date.

Pit. 1. Situated in the court to the north of the entrance.

Depth of shaft 5·40 m. Area of chamber A 4·00 by 2·65 m.

Height of chamber 2·05 m.

Area of chamber B 3·95 by 2·90 m. Height of chamber 1·75 m.

Area of chamber C 3·75 by 1·50 m. Height of chamber 1·10 m.

Area of chamber D 2·00 by 1·50 m. Height of chamber ·90 m.



Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.

Among the objects of interest found in the burial chamber and in the court of the tomb are the following :—

Cat. No. 26/11. Funerary cone. Dar. 180. From the court, level B. Fig. 17.

Cat. No. 26/37. Funerary cone. Dar. 228. From Pit. 1. Fig. 18.

Cat. No. 26/50, 51, 52. Three blue faience ushabtiu, inscribed
Size 11 cm. high. From Pit 1. Plate XVIII *a*.



Cat. No. 26/44. Alabaster ointment palette. Size 7 cm. long.
From Pit 1. Fig. 19.

Cat. No. 20/46. Alabaster ointment palette. Size 12 cm. long.
From Pit 1. Fig. 20. (Compare with archaic type).



Fig. 19.

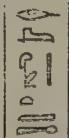


Fig. 20.

TOMBS C AND D

On the south side of the court of the tomb of Amenhotep are the doorways to the tombs marked C and D on the plan, Plate II. The first chambers of both these tombs have suffered to a large extent from the quarry work and bear no trace of inscriptions.

All the burial pits were cleared of debris and examined, but beyond the discovery of one hundred and thirty ushabtiu in Pit 2, nothing of interest was found. These ushabtiu, made of dried mud and painted black, are 8 cm. high, and bear a text painted in white. Plate XVIII *b*.



TOMB E

On February 15, 1926, the entrance to this tomb was discovered in the north wall of the court of the tomb of Ramose. After a complete excavation it proved to have been used as a dwelling in late Coptic times. No objects of any description were found.

THE TOMB OF USERHET

During a preliminary inspection of the tombs in the vicinity of Ramose, it was noticed that there was a definite subsidence in the walls and floor of the tomb of Userhet. We came to the conclusion that this was due to the crumbling and decay of the burial chamber beneath, and after a complete clearance and examination proved that this was the case. We decided to block up the burial chamber and passage with concrete, and this work has now been completed.

THE TOMB OF RAMOSE. No. 132

At the end of January 1925 we decided to clear the entrance to Tomb 132. This tomb had been cleared previously and had an iron gate up against the entrance, but due to numerous falls of debris from the ceiling, the doorway was more or less blocked and it was quite impossible to gain an entrance. The first and second chambers were cleared and a careful examination was made of the painted burial chamber. The tomb is now accessible to visitors.

THE TOMB OF NEFERHOTEP. No. 50

The restoration of this tomb was started in the last weeks of the 1923-24 season, but beyond a preliminary examination of the numerous fragments to be replaced, very little was done.

Neferhotep, the son of Amenemhat, was a Divine Father of Amen under Horemheb. The tomb was first published by Bénédict, and was then in a much better state of preservation than at the present time.

In 1905 Mr. Mond rebuilt the fallen walls about six inches back from the original surface in order that at a later date the broken fragments which lay on the floor of the tomb could be replaced in their correct positions.

Our first task was to level the floor of the second hall between walls D and K, and we completed this work by October 8, 1925. We then turned our attention to wall L, and our native mason laid a coating of white plaster on the surface of the wall, while the fragments which were

to be replaced were selected. By the end of the month this work was completed. On the upper register of this wall is depicted a festival scene, and although we were able to replace but a few fragments, the scheme of the design is now quite plain. Fig. 21.

The scene on the lower register evidently depicts the procession of the barque of Amen. Although a large number of the missing fragments were replaced, we cannot be certain of their correct position, inasmuch as the large gaps between them give us no connecting link.

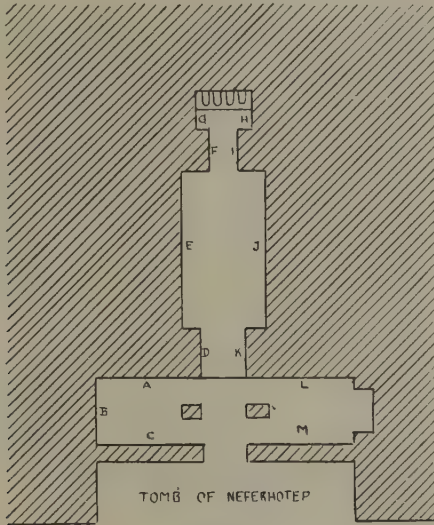


Fig. 21.

On wall E of the second hall we were able to replace a number of pieces in their correct order by reference to Bénédict's copy of the wall. By the end of November we were able to turn our attention to wall M, and here our efforts met with some success. The whole wall, with the exception of a few lines of inscriptions near the ceiling, had been broken away. From these texts it was evident that the missing scene depicted the judgment hall of Osiris, and with this before us we had no difficulty in finding and replacing the few remaining fragments of the original relief.

On the second register of this wall we were able to replace a number of fragments from the 'Negative Confession.' To fix each piece in its correct position was difficult, and we found it necessary to draw the whole design

on the plaster first, and to mark out the position of each fragment on this design.

Shortly after Christmas 1925 this wall was finished and we closed down our work in the tomb of Neferhotep until a later date, when our object will be to restore the remaining walls, raise the floor of the first hall to its original level, and rebuild the fallen pillars.

THE TOMB OF PAHEQMEN

The excavations to the north of the tomb of Ramose resulted, on February 23, 1925, in the discovery of the entrance of a tomb, which proved on examination to belong to the latter part of the XVIII Dynasty, built for Paheqmen, Overseer of Engravers. Plate XIX.

The tomb was known to the early Egyptologists, Wilkinson, Rosellini, etc., but at a later date the entrance became covered with rubbish and all trace of it was lost. When first we entered, the debris stood about one metre high, on the top of which lay the remains of five plundered mummies. These were examined but nothing of interest was found on them.

The tomb is a typical example of the XVIII Dynasty, consisting of main hall, passage, and shrine. The painted reliefs are quite conventional, and with the exception of wall C (Plate XXI) are of little interest. Plates XX to XXXI. We will not attempt to describe the reliefs in this preliminary report, as it is Mr. Mond's intention to publish the tomb in detail in a separate publication at a later date.

By the end of the 1925 season the tomb was cleared of all debris and an iron gate was built against the entrance by the Government Department.

Early in 1926 we turned our attention to the excavation of the court and burial chambers, and by the end of February we had uncovered a stairway of native rock which led down to it. The gateway is formed by a mud brick construction, probably a pylon entrance.

On the north wall of the court we cleared the entrance to an unfinished tomb devoid of inscriptions, marked F on the plan. A break in the floor of the court to the north of the stairway led to the discovery of the shrine of the tomb of Khonsu, described below.

Pits 1 and 2 are connected by a series of chambers in which we found sixteen plundered mummies, and fragments of coffins of a late period.

Among the objects of interest found during these excavations are the following :—

Cat. Nos. 26/107 to 115. Fragments of a painted wooden box, probably of the Ptolemaic period. Among these fragments was a gilt figure of Osiris (Cat. No. 26/114) which probably formed part of the lid. Size 15 cm. high. From the main entrance to the tomb. Plate XXXII.



Fig. 22. Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

Cat. No. 26/2. Fragments of limestone, probably from the door jamb of the entrance, bearing a female figure painted in red. Size 37 cm. by 21 cm. From the court. Fig. 22.

Cat. No. 26/55. Limestone lid of a canopic jar. Head of Hapi. Size 7 cm. high. From Pit 2.

THE TOMB OF KHONSU. Plate XXXIII

The discovery of the shrine of Khonsu, during the excavation of the court of the tomb of Paheqmen, led us to undertake the complete clearance of the tomb. The tomb of Khonsu, First Prophet of Thotmose III, was discovered by Mr. Mond in 1905 but only partly cleared, the excavation being carried no further than the north end of the passage.

It is in a very poor state of preservation, the walls of the passage being cut away to within 75 cm. of the floor. Before attempting to clear the tomb our masons rebuilt the side of the doorway to the shrine, to support the roof, which was in a very unsafe condition. The shrine, which was cleared of debris by the middle of January, proved to be in a state of almost perfect preservation. The scenes, which are painted on a coating of mud plaster, depict the deceased adoring Osiris and Mentuhotep IV.

The only other discovery of interest in the tomb was the ceiling of the doorway to the shrine, on which was painted a vine amid which are depicted birds, locusts, etc., in a style reminiscent of the art of the Amarna period.

We excavated the burial chambers and pits 1 and 2, but beyond twenty-two small ushabtiu of dried mud, no objects of any description were found.

THE TOMB OF THOTSENB. Plate XXXIII

While building a retaining wall above the court of the tomb of Khonsu, we uncovered the corner of a mud brick construction, and this encouraged us to clear the area in the vicinity. We were rewarded with the tomb of Thotsenb.

The court, the entrance of which is bordered by two brick pylons, is divided by a wall of mud brick. The walls of the tomb are carved in relief and painted, but owing to it having been used as a dwelling at some recent date, these are in a state of very poor preservation and little of interest remains.

The burial chambers were examined but no objects were found. Five funerary cones were recovered from the debris in the court. Cat. No. 26/207.

TOMB G. Plate XXXIII

During the excavation of the court of the tomb of Khonsu we discovered the entrance to a tomb of the XVIII Dynasty, marked G on the plan. This proved to be unfinished, with no trace of inscriptions.

Among the objects found were :—

Cat. No. 25/97. Two fragments of a blue faience bowl. Pattern in black.

Cat. No. 25/99. Five burnt clay ushabtiu. Uninscribed. Size 7 cm. high.

THE TOMB OF NEKHTAMEN. Plate XXXIV

On January 5, 1925, the men working in the area to the south of the tomb of Ramose struck the entrance to a large tomb, marked H on the plan. On examination this proved to be an unfinished construction of the XII Dynasty. The entrance passage, the walls of which were only roughly faced, led into a square chamber which we found blocked with large boulders of rock which had fallen from the ceiling. Plate XXXVa. The burial chamber which led off from this was unfinished and had been left in the preliminary stages of excavation. In the centre of the chamber we cleared the entrance to a pit, but on examination this proved to our great disappointment, to be like the chamber, unfinished. It did not exceed a depth of more than one metre.

In the first chamber we found the remains of twenty-one plundered mummies of the Saitic period, which were examined, but beyond a quantity of blue faience cylinder beads nothing of interest was found on them.

On the west wall of the entrance passage an attempt had been made to cut a second burial chamber, probably at a later period, but this was abandoned before the work had progressed to any great extent.

Against the entrance to the tomb from the court we uncovered the remains of a vaulted gateway of mud brick, and from the size of the bricks we judged this to be the work of the XVIII Dynasty. Plate XXXV b.

After the passage had been cleared of debris we discovered a break in the east wall made by ancient plunderers. On entering through this hole we were rewarded with the discovery of a most interesting tomb of the XIX Dynasty, belonging to Nekhtamen, an Overseer of the Offering-Table in the reign of Rameses II.

The wall scenes, which are painted on mud plaster, are in a fair state of preservation, and for freedom of style are without parallel in the work of this period. We will not attempt to describe the wall paintings in this report, for like the tomb of Paheqmen, it is Mr. Mond's intention to publish them in detail at a later date.

But one or two features might be mentioned, among which is the bearded head of the figure of Rameses II (Fig. 23), the winged figure on the south wall (Plate XXXIX), and the dancing girl on the south wall of the



Fig. 23.

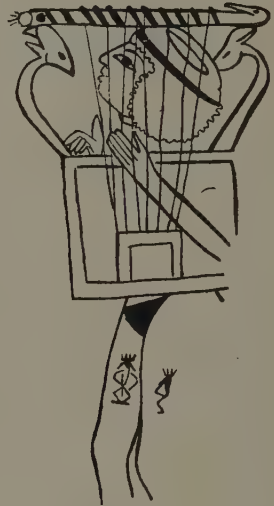


Fig. 24.

second chamber, with figures of the god Bes painted on her thighs (Fig. 24). The court, which forms part of the original enclosure of the XII Dynasty tomb, is surrounded by a brick wall with a gateway on the south. To the east of the entrance of the tomb we uncovered the remains of a limestone libation slab or altar but found no trace of a burial shaft.

Among the objects of interest found during the clearance of these two tombs are the following :—

Cat. No. 25/219. Burnt clay funerary stela, supported by kneeling human figure. This object was found in front of the doorway of the tomb of Nekhtamen in a niche of the pyramid portico, which, to judge by the number of bricks found in the court, was

built above the entrance to the tomb. Size 18 cm. high. Plate XXXVI.

Cat. No. 25/100. Fifty-two funerary cones, the text of which being painted and not incised was illegible. From the court of tomb H.

THE TOMB OF ANENA. No. 81

On January 28, 1925, we commenced the clearance of the court of the tomb of Anena. The court had never been completely excavated and we hoped to discover the burial shaft, but in this we were disappointed. No trace of a pit was found, but we were rewarded with the discovery of ninety-seven funerary cones, bearing the name of Anena, some of which were in an excellent state of preservation. Fig. 25.



Fig. 25.



Fig. 26.

THE TOMB OF MINNEKHT. No. 87

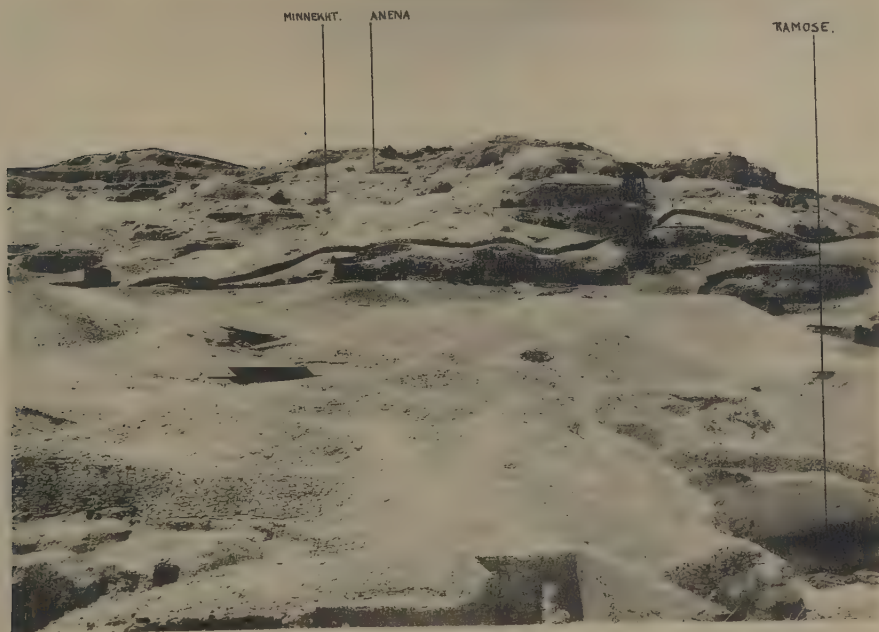
In clearing the court of the tomb of Minnekht during the latter part of our season of 1926, we discovered the lintel stone of the doorway, a fine example of the art of the period. Unfortunately, the stone in falling had broken into fragments, but sufficient remained for us to understand the decorative scheme. Plate XXXVIIIb.

To the south of the doorway we uncovered a funerary stela built of mud brick. Plate XXXVIIIa. The design and text which had been painted was completely obliterated. Five specimens of the funerary cones of Minnekht were recovered from the debris. Fig. 26.

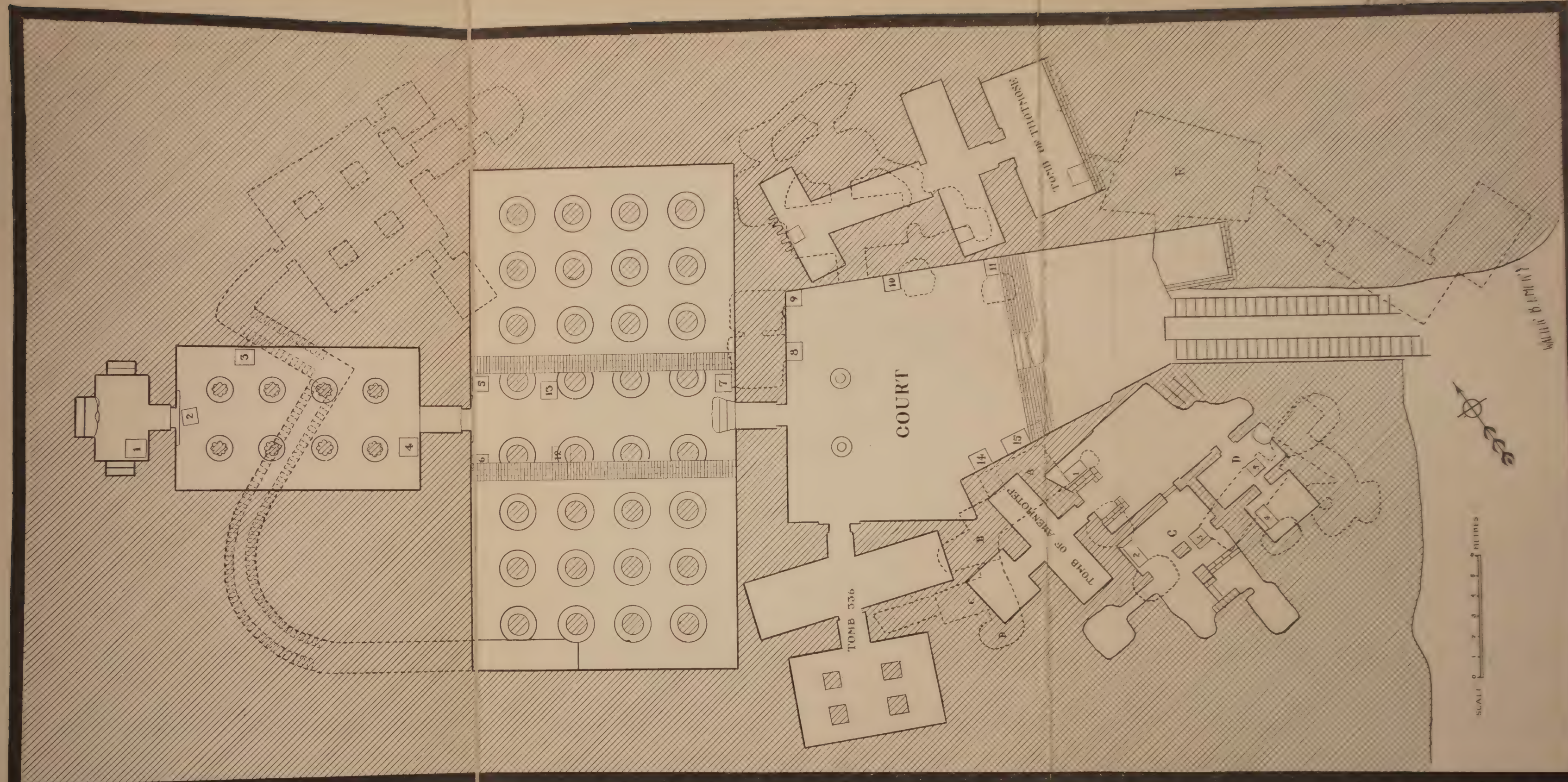
During the season of 1925 test pits were sunk a little to the south of Tomb 131, but no trace of a tomb was found. Curiously enough the work on this site resulted in the discovery of a very interesting ostrakon bearing

a figure of Queen Hatshepsut. The figure of the queen is depicted in male dress making an offering. The design is painted in red with a black outline. Plate XXXVIII.

An important discovery was made at the close of the work of last season, in the court of the tomb of Amenemhat, No. 97. As the large number of objects have not yet been examined it is our intention to publish them in our next report.



VIEW OF SHEIKH ABD EL GURNEH, SHOWING POSITION OF TOMBS.



PLAN OF TOMB OF RAMOSE.



b

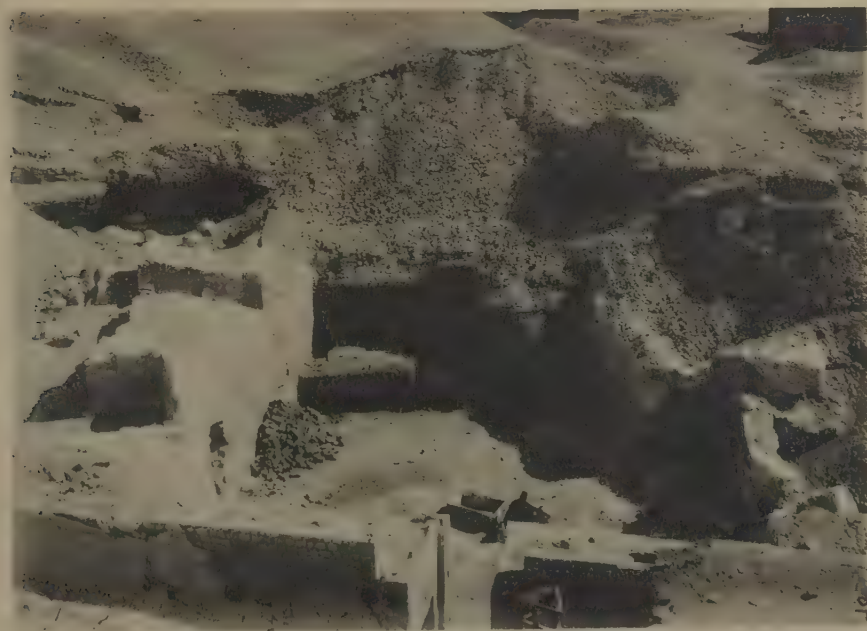


a

TOMB OF RAMOSE.
(a) ENTRANCE TO BURIAL SHAFT. (b) BURIAL CHAMBER.



a



b

TOMB OF RAMOSE.

(a) THE COURT. (b) THE COURT BEFORE THE WORK OF 1926.



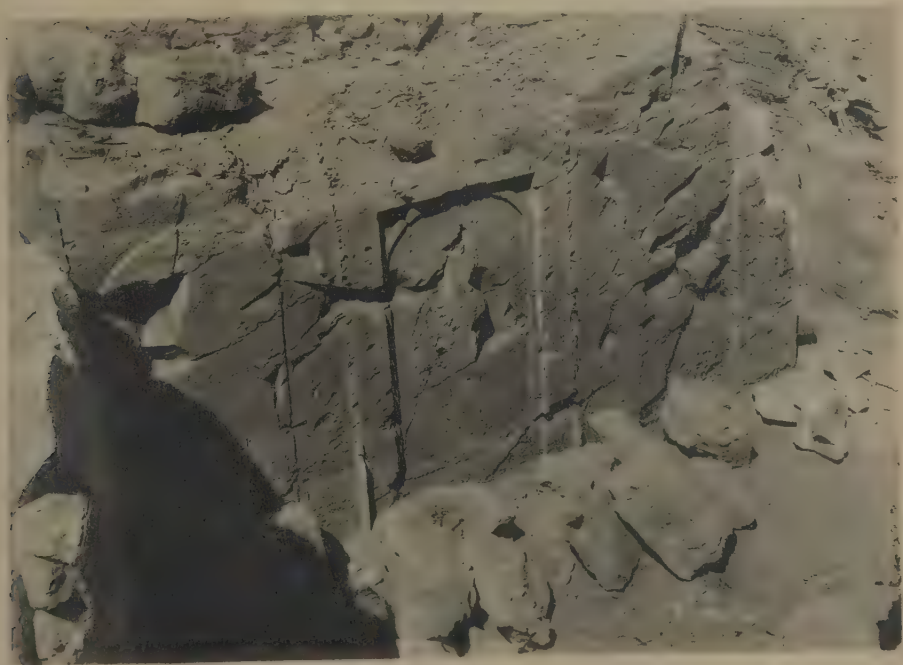


TOMB OF RAMOSE.

CLEARING OF COURT, SHOWING VARIOUS LEVELS OF WORK.



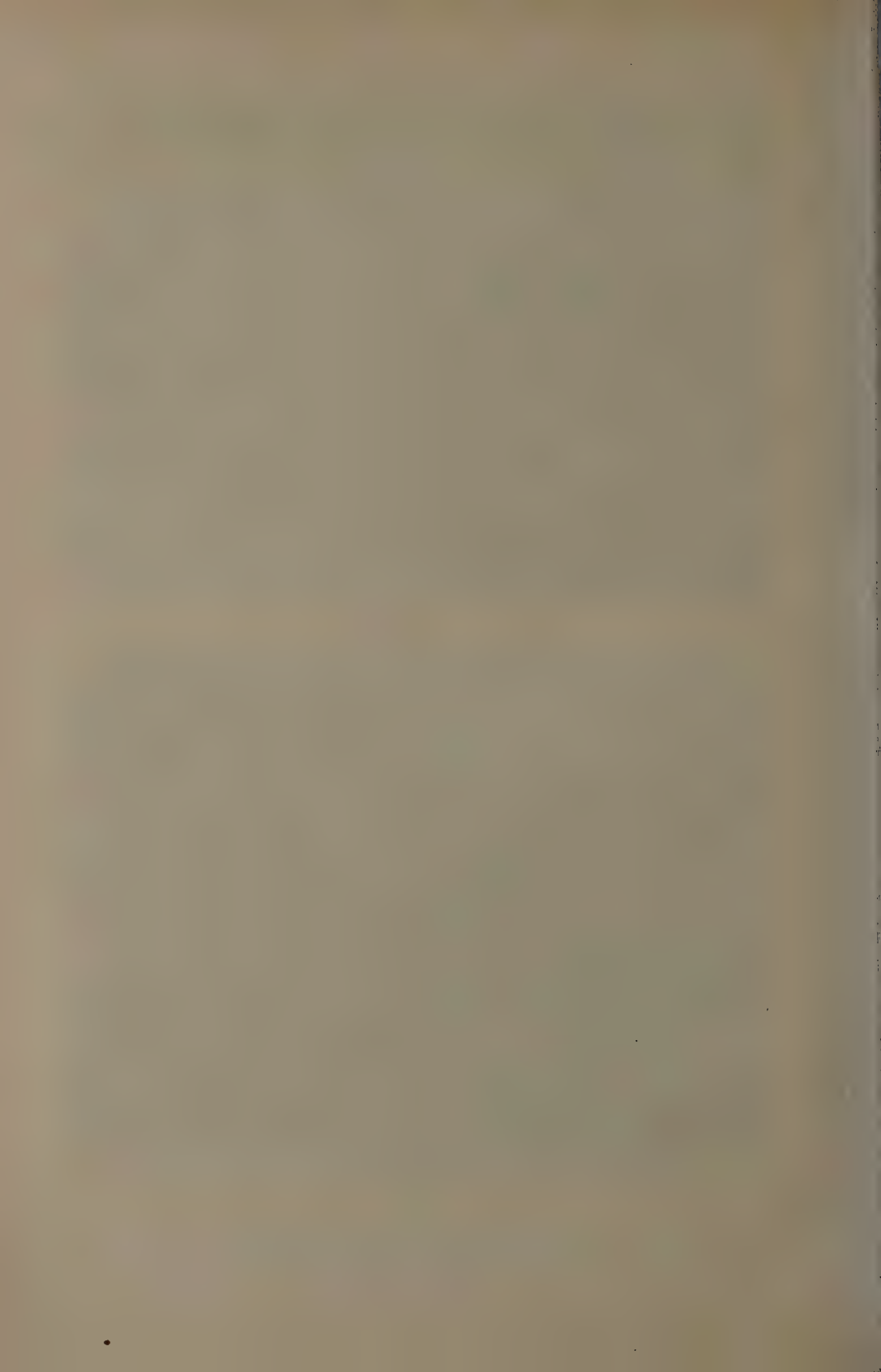
a



b

TOMB OF RAMOSE.

(a) CLEARING THE COURT, 1925. (b) UNFINISHED STELAE CUT IN ROCK ON WEST WALL.





a



b

TOMB OF RAMOSE.
(a) WORK ABOVE THE COURT; (b) HEAD OF THE GREAT STAIRWAY.



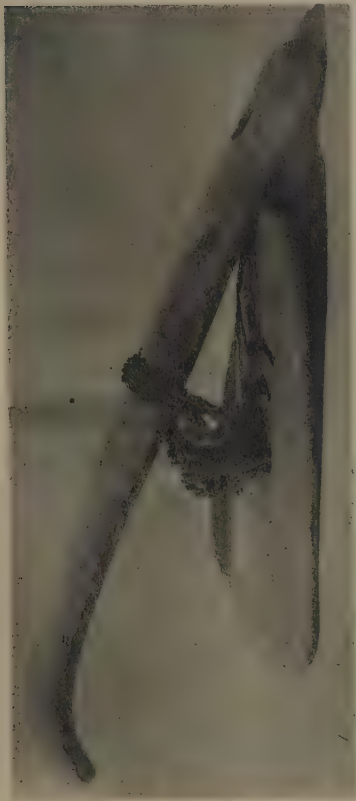
a



b

TOMB OF RAMOSE.

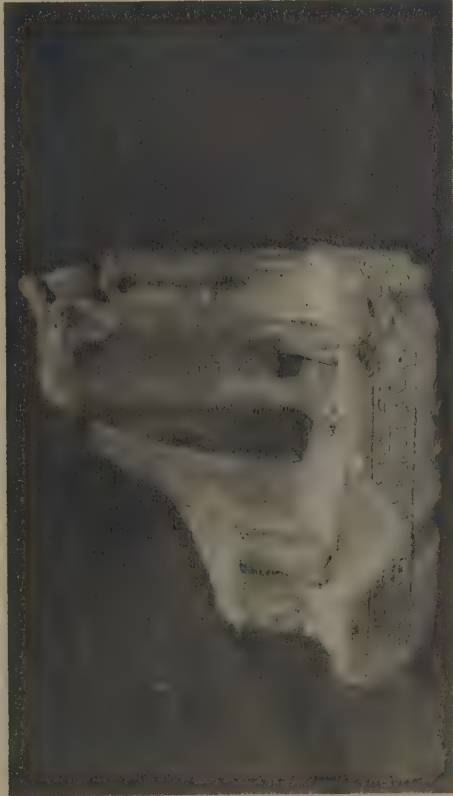
(a) STAIRWAY TO COURT. (b) BRICK ENCLOSURE BEFORE ENTRANCE OF TOMB E.



b



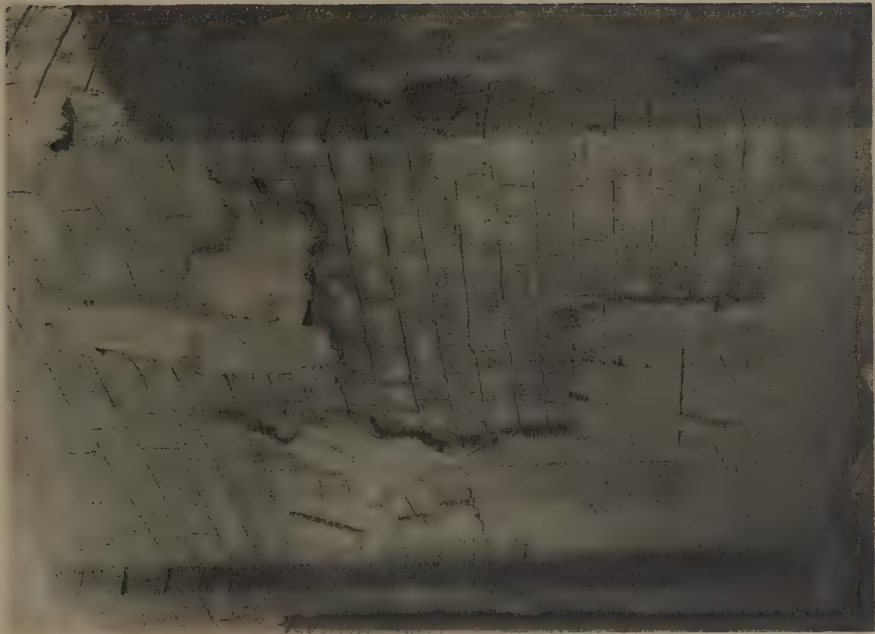
a



c

COURT OF RAMOSE.

(a) COFFIN LID OF XXIV DYNASTY. Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. (b) WOODEN HOE. Scale, ft. (c) SMALL LIMESTONE GROUP. Scale, ft.



TOMB OF RAMOSE.
RESTORATION OF RELIEFS ON WALLS OF HYPOSTYLE HALL.



TOMB OF RAMOSE.
WORK OF RESTORATION.



TOMB OF RAMOSE.
RESTORATION OF COLUMNS.



TOMB OF RAMOSÉ.
RESTORATION OF COLUMNS.



TOMB OF THOTMOSE.



a

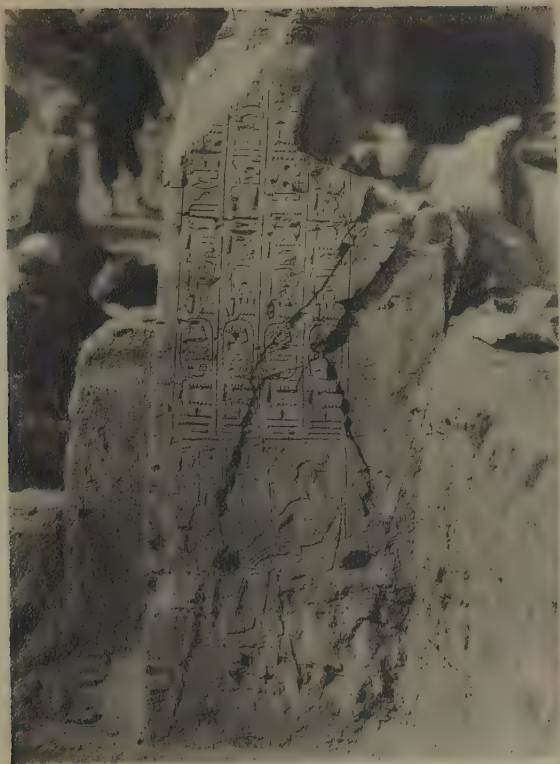


b

TOMB OF AMENHOTEP.

(a) THE COURT.

(b) CLEARING ABOVE THE COURT.



a

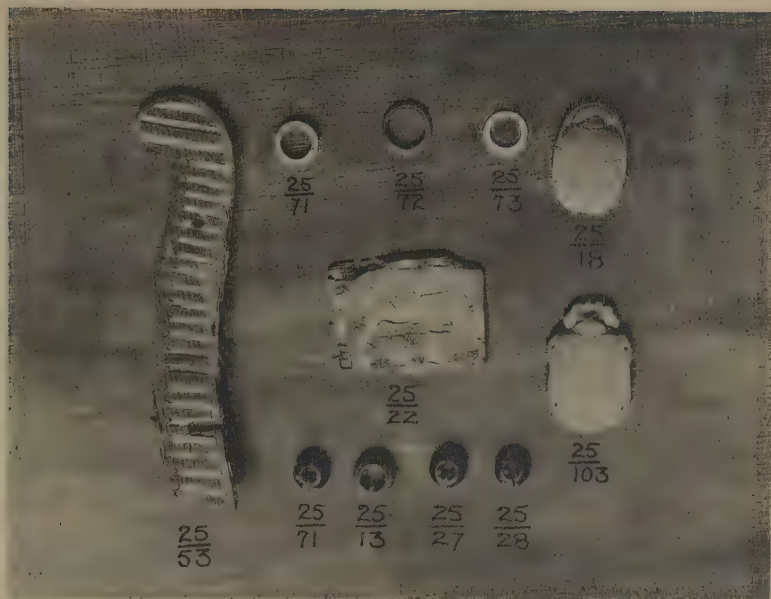


b

TOMB OF AMENHOTEP.

(a) INSCRIBED DOOR JAMB.

(b) GENERAL VIEW OF TOMBS A AND B.



OBJECTS FROM TOMB OF RAMOSE.

Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$.



a



b

USHABTIU.
Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$.



TOMB OF PAHEQMEN.



TOMB OF PAHEQMEN.
VIEW FROM ENTRANCE.



TOMB OF PAHEQMEN.
MAIN HALL, WALL C.



TOMB OF PAHEQMEN.
STELA IN MAIN HALL, WALL D.



TOMB OF PAQEMMEN.
• MAIN HALL, WALL E.



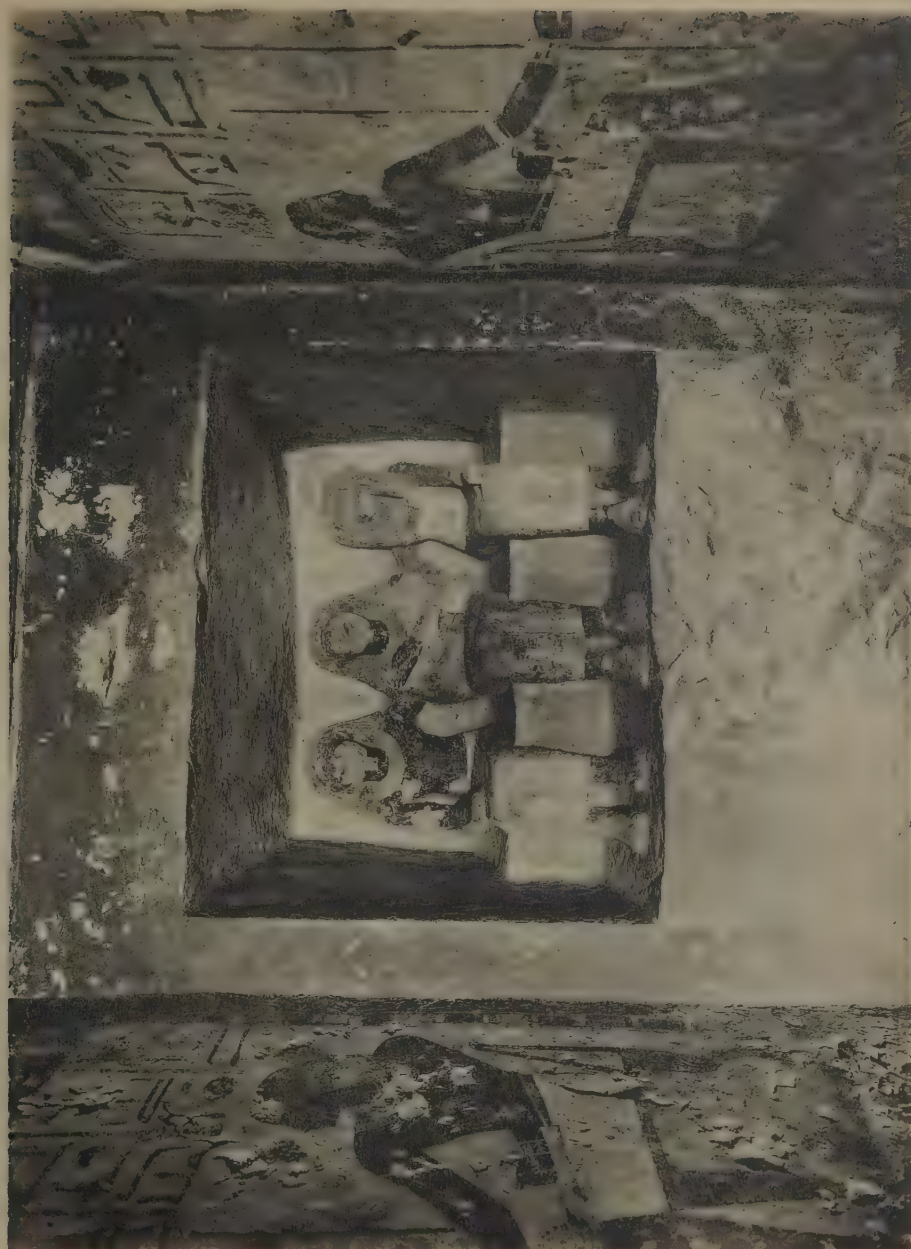
TOMB OF PAHEQMEN.
MAIN HALL, WALL F.



TOMB OF PAHEQMEN.
STELA IN MAIN HALL, WALL G.



TOMB OF PAHEQMEN.
MAIN HALL, WALL H.



TOMB OF PAHEQMEN.
THE SHRINE.



TOMB OF PAHEQMEN.
SHRINE, WALL K.



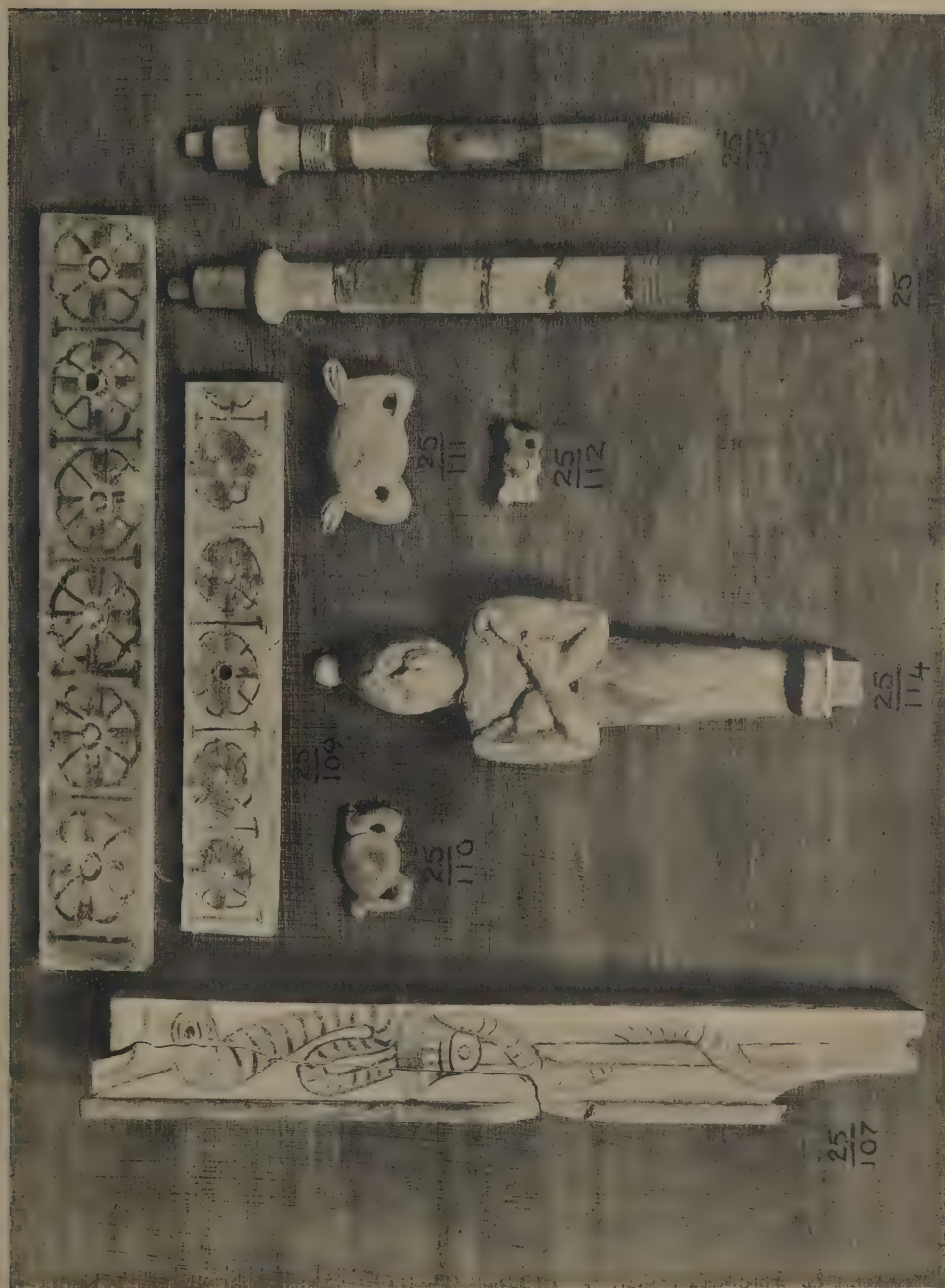
TOMB OF PAHEQMEN.
SHRINE, WALL K.



FIGURE OF FIGURED
MURDER, WALL I

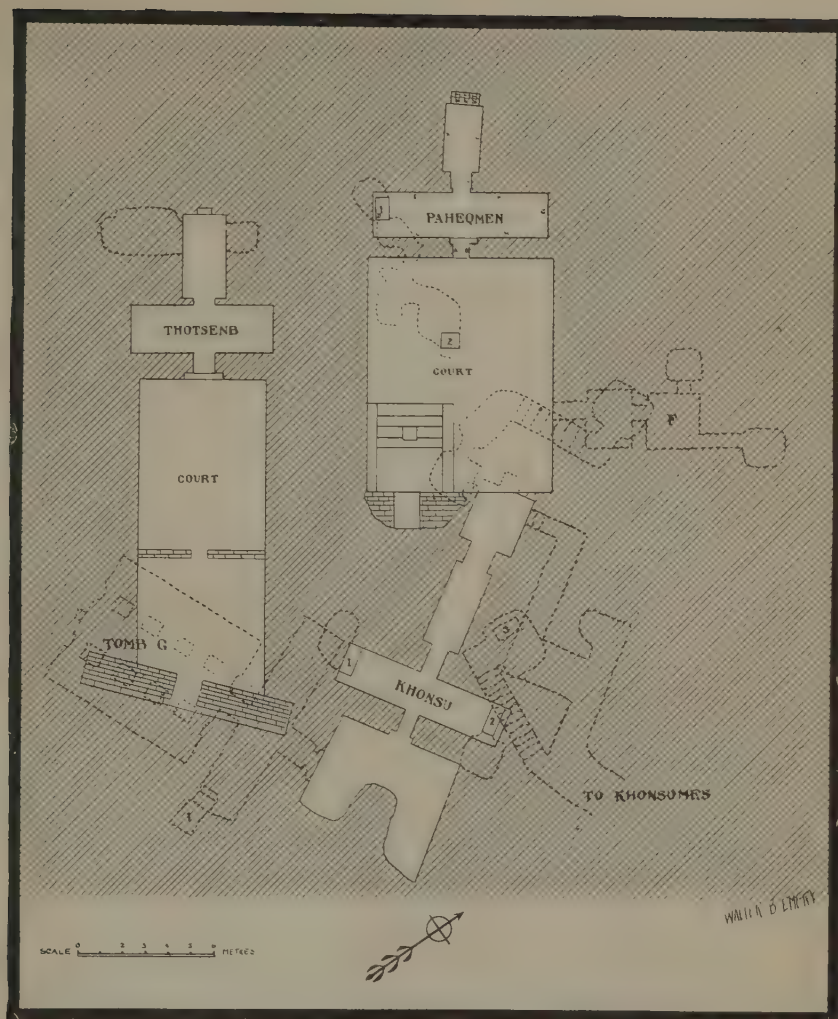


TOMB OF PAHEQMEN.
SHRINE, WALL L.

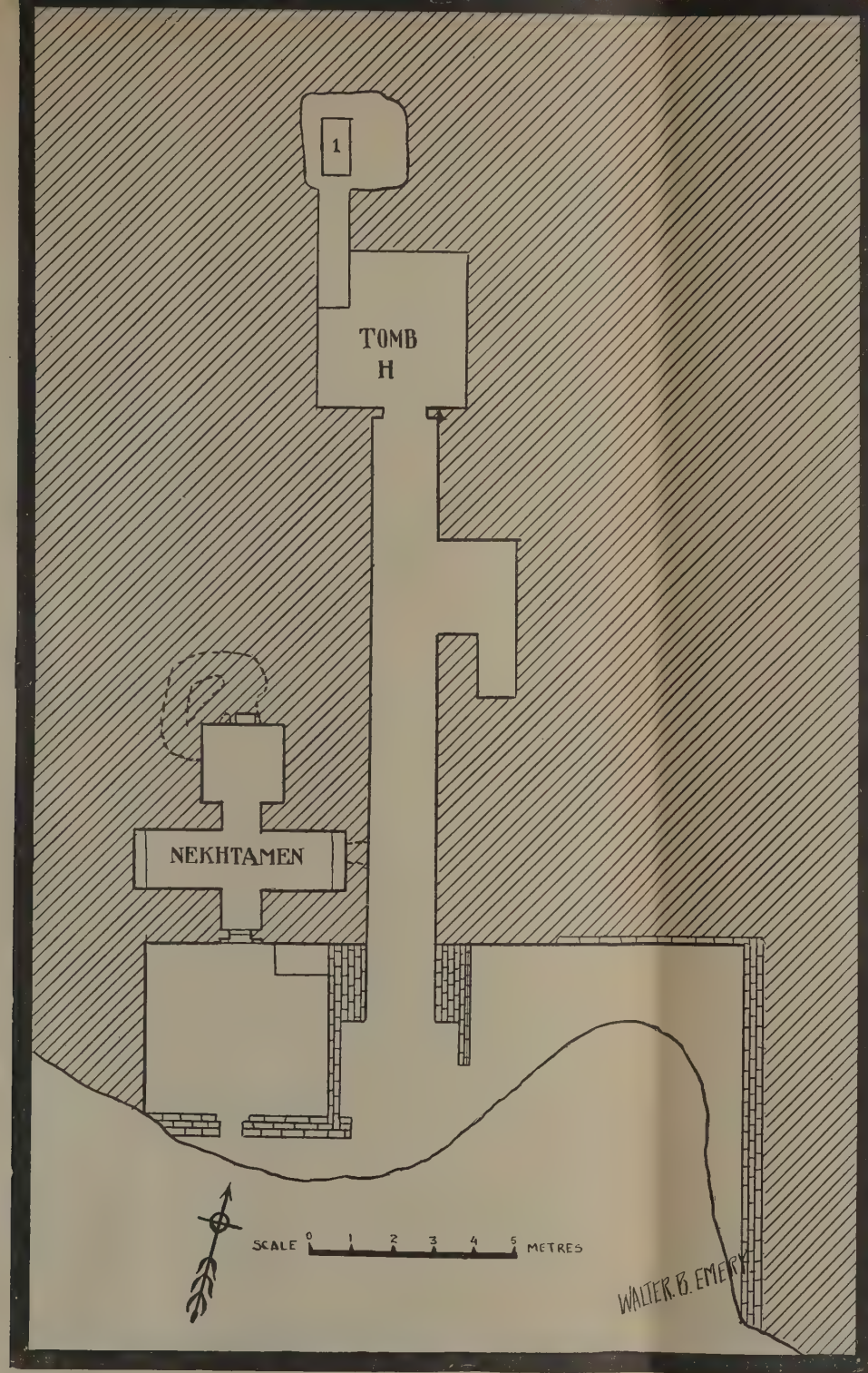


TOMB OF PAHEQMEN. FRAGMENTS OF PAINTED WOODEN BOX.

Scale just under 1/2.



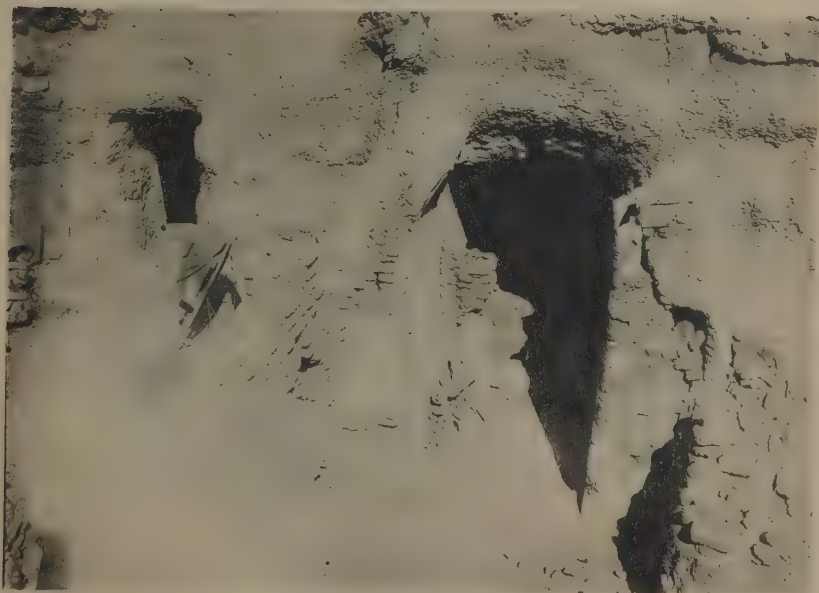
PLAN OF THE TOMBS OF PAHEQMEN, KHONSU, THOTSENB, AND OF TOMB G.



PLAN OF TOMB OF NEKHTAMEN.

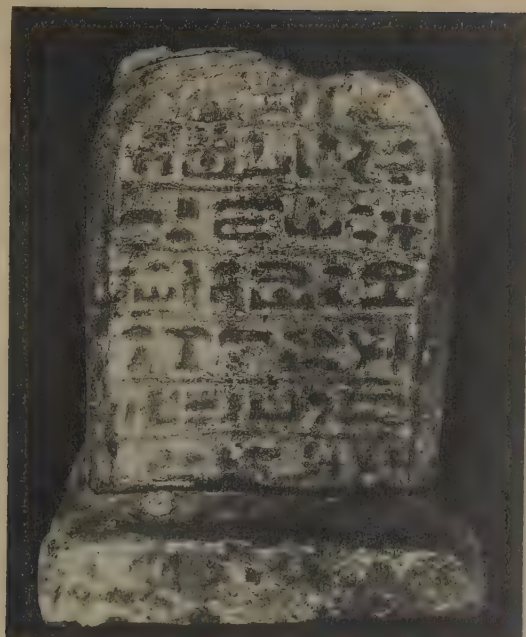


a



b

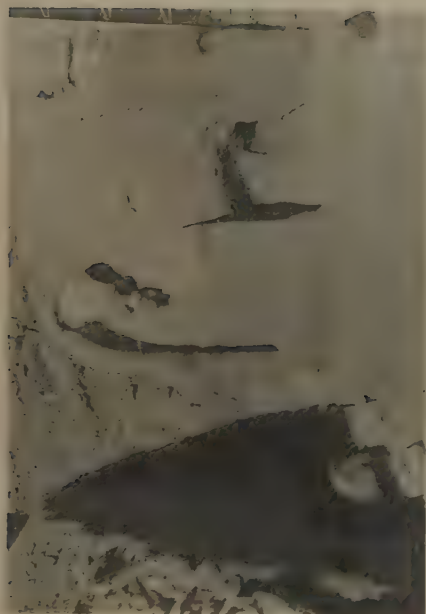
(a) PASSAGE OF TOMB H.
(b) COURT OF NEKHTAMEN AND TOMB H.



TOMB OF NEKHTAMEN.

BURNT CLAY STELA SUPPORTED BY KNEELING FIGURE.

Scale, $\frac{1}{2}$.



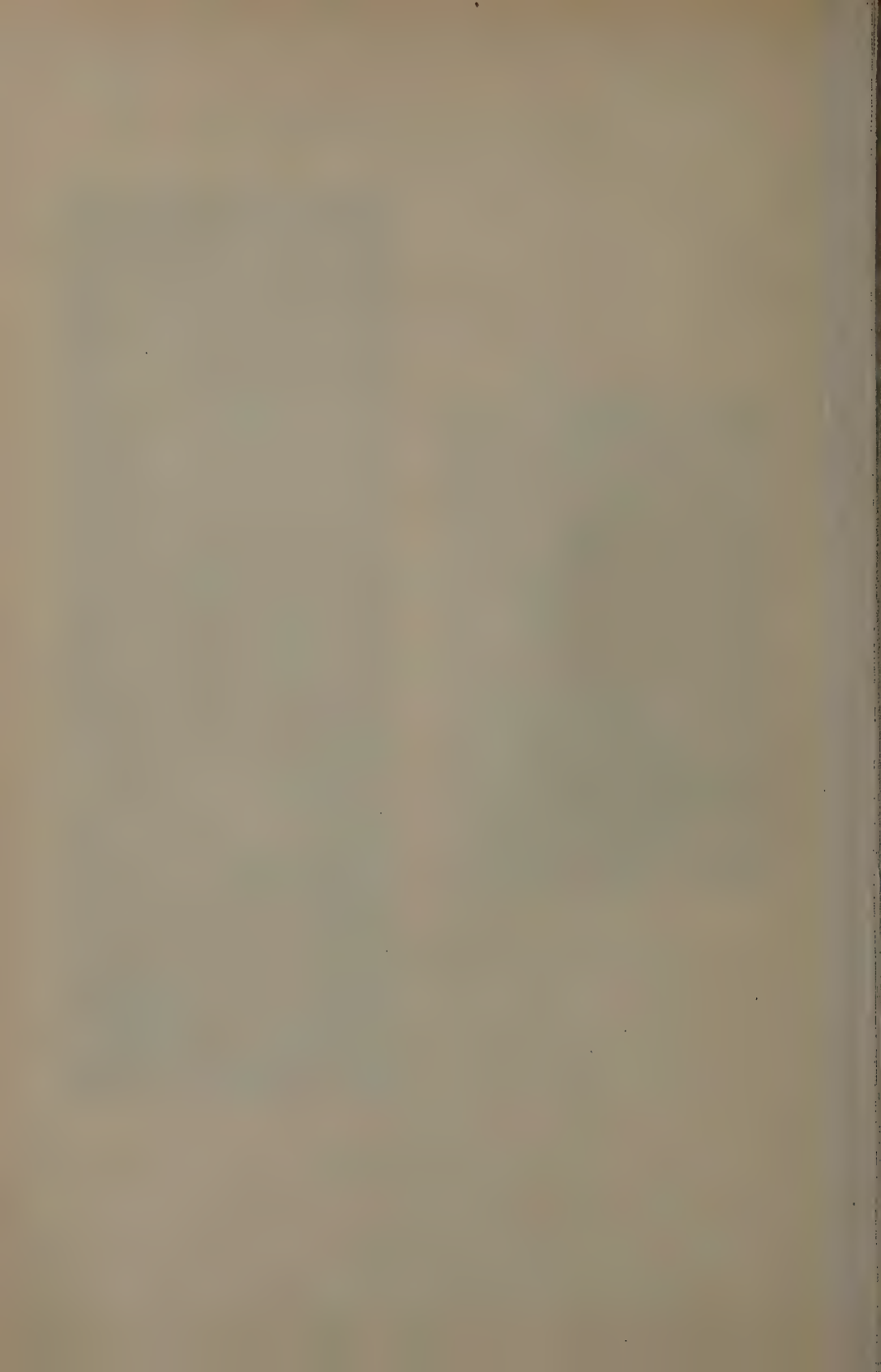
a

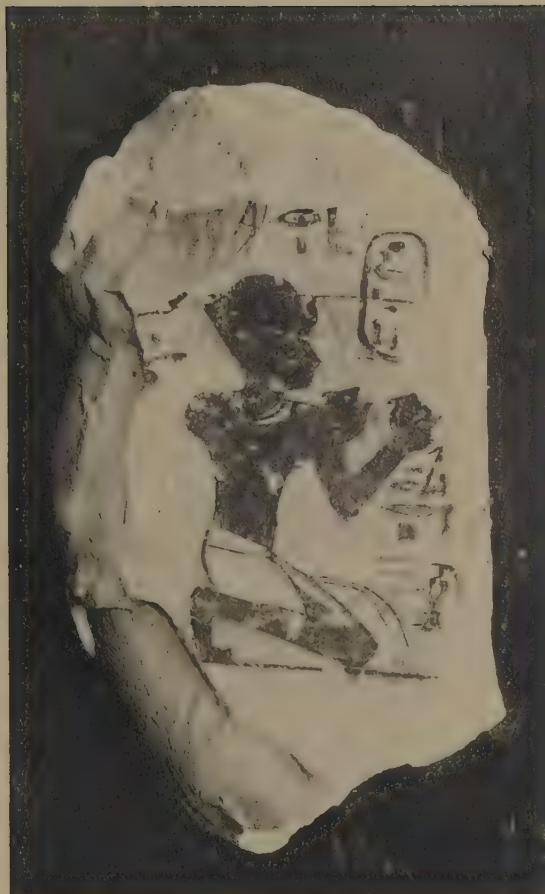


b

TOMB OF MINNEKHT.

(a) MUD BRICK STELA IN COURT. (b) RELIEFS FROM LINTEL (Scale about $\frac{1}{2}$).





OSTRAKON, WITH FIGURE OF HATSHEPSUT, FROM TEST PITS
SOUTH OF TOMB 131.

Scale, 3.



WINGED FIGURE FROM SOUTH WALL. TOMB OF NEKHTAMEN.

THE SITE OF HAZOR

By J. GARSTANG

At the foot of the Galilean hills, in the Huleh Basin, some four miles west of the ford of the Jordan just below the lake (at K. 207 on the main north road), are the remains of a great permanent camp-enclosure which seems to satisfy all the indications of the site of Hazor. It is an enclosed rectangular area about 1000 m. by 400 m., with the angles towards the cardinal points [Fig. 3]. The corners are rounded, and

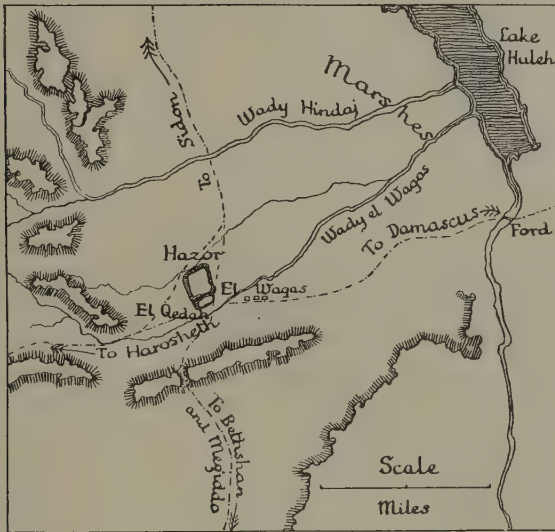


Fig. 1—THE SITE OF HAZOR (HULEH BASIN).

they are protected, particularly on the north, by a revetment of stout megalithic masonry. Its S.E. and N.W. sides are naturally protected by deep water courses, named Wady El Waqas and its tributary El Seyl (the torrent), both of which are dry in summer. Along its S.W. side there is also a continuous depression, except towards the western angle, where an artificial ditch (still called El Handaqiyeh) continues the defen-

sive scheme. Along the S.E. side, however, there is no such feature; but there has been more erosion on this side, while agricultural operations as well as road-making combine to obscure the traces of ancient work. The edge of the enclosure, which forms a high natural platform, is, however, well defined; and there is on this side, towards the south, an easterly extension simulating an advanced terrace. The Arab Shrine of El Waqas occupies the southern extremity of this terrace, together with a few houses constituting a farmstead.

The main enclosure (called El Qedah) [see Fig. 3] occupies then an isolated platform, which is generally some 30 m. (about 100 feet) above the bottom of the watercourses and ditch which envelop it on three sides, but falls away somewhat towards the east where it is, however, still some 20 m. above the cultivated ground below [Fig. 3]. In addition to this natural elevation and the protection afforded by its position, its defences were strengthened by a great rampart of beaten earth, which is well preserved all along the S.W. side, where it rises some 10 m. above the level of the interior, but gradually disappears after rounding the western corner. Along the N.E. edge this rampart is replaced by the evident traces of a stone wall, but the date of the replacement is not evident. On the S.E. side, if the rampart ever existed, as may be presumed, it has been absorbed in the mass of a long and regular mound which rises to a total height of 55 m. above the bed of the Wady at its foot. This mound is called Tell El Qedah: it is about 160 m. across, and was clearly the more intensively occupied portion of the whole area, in which it constituted the Acropolis. The ramparts themselves contain no potsherds. The interior of the enclosure is littered with countless fragments of all phases of the Bronze Age, with preponderance of the Later Bronze Age. The Acropolis while yielding fragments of the same kind shows also a sprinkling of the Early Iron Age, to which period also some rough walls protruding through the surface may belong.

Though no excavation has yet been possible, certain details of arrangement are suggested by the superficial indications. A narrow terrace runs round the whole of the western area and the Acropolis at a level about one-third to one-quarter down the slope, below where the artificial rampart overlies the natural scarp of the enclosing valleys [Fig. 3]. This terrace seems to have had a defensive purpose, for it communicates with the stout megalithic masonry which in the north corner assumes almost the proportions of a bastion. Thence it gives

access to a sloping ramp which rises up the side of the scarp; at the spot where this ramp enters the interior there is a depression, and the scattered debris on either hand suggests a fortified entrance. Another entrance on this N.E. side may be presumed, giving access first to the advanced terrace and then to the interior of the main enclosure at the foot of the Acropolis. Following along the foot of this Acropolis to the farther side, a very deep excavation appears and suggests a pool for collecting rain-water, but the date of this feature is not known, and it may be secondary. Springs are found now to the S.E. of the advanced platform, beyond El Waqas. The interruption of the main rampart to the west of this pool may also be due to a change in the original plan. Of the special visible features there may be mentioned the traces of a stout building near the middle of the enclosure towards the east; a stone pedestal of curious character further south; and on the terrace a portion of a well-fashioned engaged basaltic column (1 m. in diameter and 77 cm. high), as well as two basaltic capitals of a simple design found elsewhere in Palestine. Lastly, some tombs of the Early Iron Age have been opened on the edge of the central plateau immediately opposite the middle of the Acropolis.

These details are insignificant compared with the imposing defences and situation of this camp-enclosure as a whole; it is, in fact, on so great a scale that the authors of the P.E.F. maps have indicated its general outline as a natural feature. It is comparable in size and character with the great camp at Misrifeh, N.E. of Homs in Central Syria (described by the late Père Ronzevalle, S.J., in the *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, Beyrouth, t. vii., 1914-1922, pp. 109 and 126). The area enclosed and the nature of the ramparts are much the same; but the Huleh camp has the great advantage of a naturally protected site. It was at first argued that the Misrifeh camp was the work of Sea-Peoples in the Late Bronze or Early Iron Age; but subsequent excavation by Lieut. du Mesnil du Buisson has disclosed a number of pottery fragments of the Middle Bronze Age (*Syria*, 1924, p. 167 s.), according thus far with Dr. Albright's suggestion of a Hyksos origin (*Bull. of the American Sch. of Oriental Res.*, No. 21, Feb. 1926, p. 6 s.). The occupation was however more intensive in the Late Bronze Age, and it continued into the Early Iron Age.

In the case of the Huleh camp, on the other hand, while the indications of occupation in the Late Bronze Age seem to preponderate, traces

of the Early Bronze Age are unmistakable and as abundant as those of the Middle Bronze Age. The Hyksos origin for the ramparts is therefore doubtful, while the earlier occupation of the site is established. It may be mentioned that the ramparts of beaten earth that

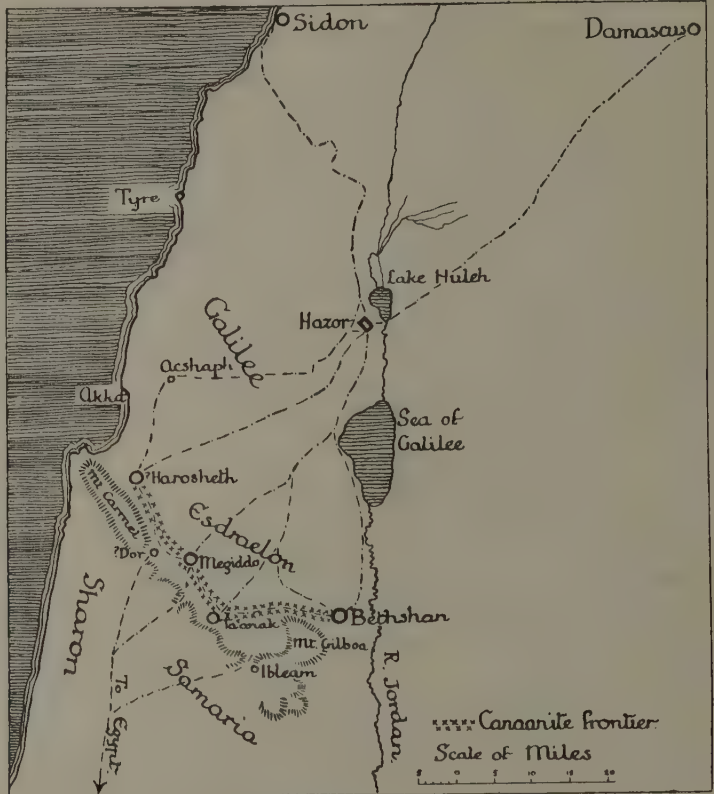


Fig. 2—HAZOR [EL QEDAH]: STRATEGIC POSITION.

surround the site of Askalon seem to date from Hyksos times. (P.E.F., Q.S. 1922, p. 112.)

In addition to its strength of position and construction, the great camp in the Huleh Basin occupies a strategic point of first importance. It commands the main road from Egypt to Damascus, and equally the main north-south road from Sidon to Beisan. It is, in fact, placed at the junction of these roads. It is significant that the Tell El Amarna

letters (Kn. 148, ll. 40-41, etc.) and the Biblical narrative (Joshua xi. 8-10) both associate Hazor with Sidon. The name Hazor (strictly a flat tray or saucer with upturned edges) while it may be applied to particular enclosures like a sheep-pen, clearly indicates in its military and political connotation an enclosed camp. From the fact that it was the centre of the Canaanitish organisation, and is coupled with the 'Waters of Merom' in the narrative of Joshua's campaign, and on the return road from Sidon, it is very probable that this camp of El Qedah in the Huleh Basin is really the site of Hazor.

This conclusion is consistent with the other Biblical reference to Hazor, in particular the much-discussed passage in Judges (iv. 2) wherein it would appear that Sisera, the Captain of Jabin's host commanding the Esdraelon front, had his headquarters at Harosheth of the Gentiles. Now the map shows Hazor, thus identified, at the centre of a radiating system of natural lines of communication, of which the advanced posts (at a good day's march) are that famous string of fortresses frequently mentioned, Bethshan [Beisan], (Ibleam), Ta'anac, Megiddo, and Dor. It has moreover been argued (*Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, No. 2, 1922) that the probable site of Harosheth is marked by Tell Harbaj, in the vicinity of modern Harithiyeh, which commands the entrance to the Vale of Esdraelon by the Kishon Pass just inside the plain of Acre. This key-position completes the chain of frontier fortresses, closing the approaches towards Damascus and the north against Egypt by the coastal plains of Palestine. The left wing is held by Bethshan under the shelter of Gilboa and with the Jordan on its flank. Megiddo sits astride the central route by the Wady Arah; while the right wing is firmly planted at Harosheth, doubly protected by Carmel and the Kishon, and with its flank upon the sea. The centre and heart of the system is the Hazor camp. A permanent and intelligible factor is introduced into all problems affecting the political and military history of the area, from the dawn of history until the close of the Bronze Age.

The traces of the Early Iron Age upon the Acropolis further recall the brief reference in the Book of Kings (2, xv. 29) to the effect that Solomon repaired Hazor together with other fortified cities. But certain recent discoveries at Beisan and Megiddo have a wider significance. In the Tell El Amarna letters (W. 154; Kn. 148, etc.) the King of Hazor is denounced to the Pharaoh as going over to the side of the Hittites,

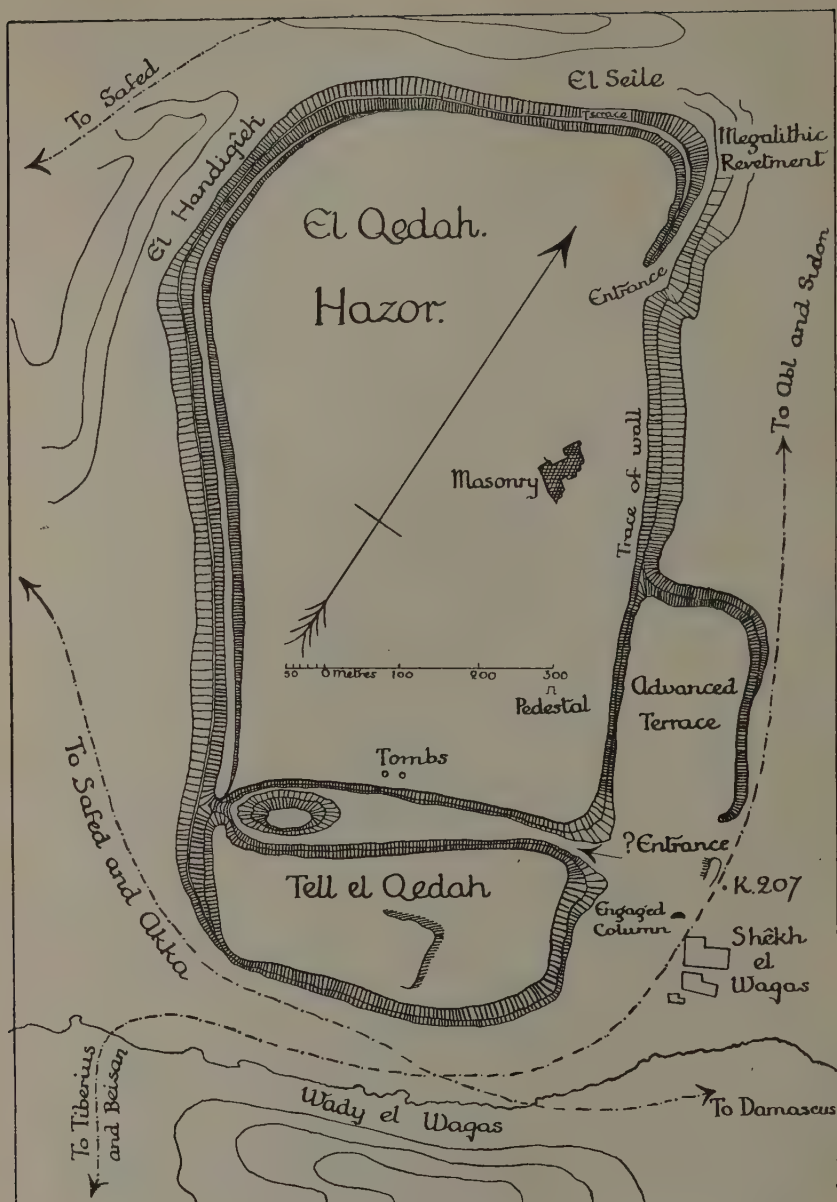


Fig 3—MAP OF THE MOUND OF HAZOR.

who were then advancing southward under their empire-builder Subbulinma. It is then of interest to note that of the period in question Hittite traces have recently been observed at the two frontier fortresses just mentioned. At Beisan this appears in a Hittite battle-axe of unique (probably ceremonial) form, which seems to have been deliberately broken and placed before the shrine of the goddess Astarte. At Megiddo a small bronze figure of a warrior has been found, complete with sword and shield and the tall conical hat that typify the Hittite soldiery. It may be noted that at Misrifeh also a stone head was discovered which was thought to represent a Hittite King. However that may be, the dominant strategic situation of El Qedah is apparent, and accords perfectly with all the known indications as to the site of Hazor.

Later literary references tend to confirm this identification of the site. A hieratic papyrus of the late thirteenth century B.C. (Anastasi I, 21, 7; ed. Gardiner, I, i. 22) associates Hazor with a river or navigable water, which (to judge from the hieroglyphs used) should have a northerly trend, though not necessarily flow northwards. The association is close. 'How does one go to Hazor?—what is its river like?' In 2 Kings xv. 29, Hazor is grouped generally with Kadesh and other cities of Naphtali taken by Tiglath-pileser III. The reference in 1 Maccabees xi. 67-8 is convincing. Jonathan, who had camped by the Sea of Galilee, led his force early in the morning to the plain of Hazor. An army of mercenaries met him in the plain, having laid an ambush for him in the mountains. These he ultimately pursued unto Kadesh. It is noticeable that Hazor plays no military rôle in this affair. Lastly, Josephus (*Antiq.*, xv. 23, 25) states that it overlooked the lake. These references, if reliable, rule out all other proposed locations upon the high plateau south of Kadesh, which are moreover not suitable centres for chariotry and are mostly incompatible with the strategic situation disclosed in Judges iv. 2-16. The site of El Qedah, on the other hand, uniquely suits these later contexts, and is accordant, as we have seen, with the position of Hazor indicated by the older sources also.

Local tradition, so far as it has been investigated, throws no light upon the history of the site, which appears in fact to have been unoccupied for more than a thousand years. 'El Waqas' is a purely Arab 'wely,' referred by one informant to a certain Ahmed, by another to Muhammed—El Waqas. A legend is told, however, that El Qedah was once the seat of kings; but they were related (by superstition and in lack of

real tradition) to the 'gins'—Mèlek El Ghoul. A story of a black stone with a lion carved upon it seems more tangible, and refers possibly to some relic of Hittite occupation, of which similar trace has been found at Tiberias further south.

The writer desires to express his obligation to his colleague in Palestine studies, the T. R. Père Vincent of the *École Biblique*, who spent a day on the site with him and helped in drawing out the plan and noting details.

REVIEWS

The Psalmists: Essays on their religious experience and teaching, their social background, and their place in the development of Hebrew Psalmody. By HUGO GRESSMANN, H. WHEELER ROBINSON, T. H. ROBINSON, G. R. DRIVER, A. M. BLACKMAN. Edited with an Introduction by D. C. SIMPSON, D.D. Oxford University Press, 7s. 6d. net.

This useful volume contains the valuable course of lectures arranged by Canon Simpson to inaugurate his professorship. They are an excellent example of the results obtainable by team-work, when the members of the team are all specialists, and their range and interest is not fully indicated even by the extended title quoted above. Much more than Hebrew Psalmody is taken into account. Full use is made of Egyptian and Babylonian evidence, and though the book is hardly an introduction to the whole subject of early Semitic and Egyptian poetry, the fact that its material is drawn from so wide a field is in itself significant. Of the lectures contained in the book three are primarily concerned with the wider historical and archaeological problems, and four with the more restricted problem of the actual setting of the religion of the Psalmists within the religious development of Judaism as a whole.

These latter lectures, by Dr. T. H. Robinson and Principal Wheeler Robinson, are of value not only as an appreciation of the heights reached by the Psalmists, but also as providing a basis for comparison with such other examples of Hebrew Psalmody as exist, and with the parallel literature produced in neighbouring nations. They are thus the necessary complement of the more directly critical and historical studies in the other three lectures.

Of these that by Dr. Gressmann is the most adventurous, and will undoubtedly excite the most comment. Part of his lecture is devoted to showing how much material actually exists both within Judaism and without for the application of comparative methods to the problem of the origin of the Psalter. The remainder is a much more speculative attempt to show that while we cannot safely rely upon the obscure historical allusions in the Psalms, we are upon much safer grounds when we refer certain types of Psalm to special ritual occasions, or to the more spiritual environment of the synagogue worship. Thus the whole argument for Maccabean Psalms is undermined, and this is, in effect, one of

the main results which emerges from the book as a whole. But while this negative result may probably stand, Dr. Gressmann inspires much less conviction in some of his detailed suggestions. He presupposes as certainties reconstructions of early Hebrew religious practice for which there is sometimes very little, if any, evidence, and further, sees many specific allusions to Babylonian and Egyptian phraseology. All this will require detailed criticism, and in part this criticism is supplied by the lectures of Mr. Driver and Dr. Blackman. The former gives a practically complete account and discussion of the Babylonian parallels, and reaches a much more conservative result than Dr. Gressmann. His essay is in many ways the most valuable in the book, being, indeed, much expanded from the original lecture as given. Dr. Blackman has less ground to cover on the Egyptian side, but his work is equally competent and complete.

But the most important general outcome of the book is that it shows a particular and a very difficult problem of Old Testament criticism in its true setting. We are not dealing with an isolated and self-contained religion. The Hebrews were from first to last in contact with a culture extending throughout the whole Semitic area, a culture which was at times profoundly influenced by Egypt, and which at times influenced Egypt itself almost equally profoundly. To speak simply of Babylonian or Egyptian influence is quite inadequate. It is with the whole of this changing and developing culture that we have to deal, and such books as Canon Simpson has given us are a valuable step towards this more adequate treatment of Old Testament problems.

L. W. GRENSTED.

The Babylonian Akitu Festival. By SVEND AAGE PALLIS. Copenhagen: A. F. Høst and Son, 1926. pp. 306, XI Plates.

A very detailed study, written in excellent English by a Danish scholar, of the New Year festival which was annually celebrated in the great cities of Babylonia and Assyria during the first days of the month Nisan, beyond doubt the principal religious event of the year, and therefore not undeserving of the scale of the work which Dr. Pallis has devoted to it. Some compression might, indeed, have been effected by curtailing the statement, and particularly by somewhat limiting the extent of quotation from the texts (concerning which there is a more important objection to which I shall recur), but it is only fair to remember that the author has set himself the double task of addressing both Assyriologists and students of comparative religion. The book contains, then, not only a critical description of the festival, involving consideration of its name, its occasion, the topography of Babylon, the persons concerned, the ceremonies, and their appurtenances, but also (and this is the main purpose of the work) an appreciation of the meaning and motives which lay behind all these observances. It is an attempt to build higher upon foundations which

have necessarily been laid by specialists rather in language than in religion, and as such is very welcome ; Dr. Pallis does not claim to add much to the labours of the former in their proper sphere, though he is evidently a competent critic, but he is justly severe upon certain prepossessions which have tempted them *ultra crepidam*. His protest against the barren tabulation of supposed likenesses between the story of Marduk and that of Jesus is most salutary and well-timed. For, as he very justly observes, not only do such comparisons seek too far afield for their material, but those who make them forget that, even if all their parallelisms were granted, nothing has thereby been done to explain the real significance of the facts in either case, which is a task of far more importance. The author finds this significance by invoking certain widespread conceptions of primitive religion, modified by the conditions of life in ancient Babylonia. He is certainly right in finding the kernel of the festival in the death and resurrection of Marduk, facts which, by a strange freak of the tradition, are only indicated obscurely in our texts. But it is not generally understood (perhaps Dr. Pallis does not fully realise), how very small at present is the fragment we possess of the complete story of Marduk—itsself, we may suspect, only an episode in the elaborate cosmogony to which various Babylonian myths, now apparently disconnected, give hints of belonging. The resurrection of Marduk preluded the doom of the evil gods, and the work of a beneficent creation.

To a study so full of detail as this it would be possible, though not very fruitful, to take a number of detailed exceptions. Instead of this, I shall confine myself to two remarks of a more general nature. One concerns the topography of Babylon, with which the author has done his best ; that it is no more satisfactory is due to the vagueness of the building-inscriptions and the disappointing results of the long years of conscientious excavation at Babylon, which deserved a better reward. But on the subject of E-temen-anki some notice might well have been taken of the knowledge recently gained as to the stage-tower at Ur, the form of which seems to throw great doubt upon Koldewey's conception of a court with surrounding chapels on the top of the tower. The second remark is a more definite complaint—Dr. Pallis should not have put us on to construe so much Babylonian. First, it takes up much room, as I have already said ; second, even the cleverest of us cannot translate it all at sight, and to look up the standard versions is a great labour, when quotation is so copious ; and third, it passes completely over the heads of the non-Assyriologists, who would, like the rest of us, have been much better served by somewhat fewer, a good deal shorter, and invariably translated, extracts. Philological details could, of course, have been discussed where necessary. But, if complaint comes at the end, that is only to put it in its proper place in a review of such a book as this.

C. J. GADD.

The Art of Greece. By E. A. GARDNER, Litt. D. pp. viii+54, with LVI Plates in Half-tone. 'The Studio,' London, 1925.

The wish to interest others in our own pursuits is a common and, if indulged in with discretion, a quite admirable trait of human nature. And no one, except perhaps some jaded reviewer, could complain that Professor Gardner's method lacks discretion. Books in any case are seldom importunate, and in this slim, moderately-priced volume the *Art of Greece* is largely allowed to be its own quiet yet convincing advocate. Eight short chapters indeed provide such an outlined account as is necessary to allow the novice to understand and appreciate the hundred or more excellent illustrations. These, which would reconcile the most jaded of reviewers to his task, have been chosen so as to cover the ground to a surprisingly adequate extent, and form the essential part of the work. It is by the choice of these that the book must be judged, and on the whole the choice is admirable. Yet we may think that three views of the Parthenon and two of Sunium are excessive when Ægina and Bassae are left out; and that three drawings by Duris are too much if we have none by Euphronios, Makron, or the Brygos painter: also that if a copy of Pheidias' Parthenos is essential the Lenormant statuette would malign his memory less than the Varvakeion example which is here given us. These are, however, personal and perhaps captious criticisms, for in such a book the problem of what to leave out must be overwhelming. Yet the author has made one fundamental error. Though it is we suppose legitimate, given the strict wording of the title, to include specimens of the prehistoric art of Greece, it would have been a better book if further examples of classical art had been substituted for those six plates. The links between Mycenaean and Hellenic art, barely more than the accident of geography, are too slight to justify the inclusion of the former as a necessary introduction, when in fact it is worthy of a volume to itself in the 'Studio' series instead of the totally inadequate treatment that it cannot but receive here. And, a last criticism, if the Lion Gate at Mycenae is to be included, why not have an up-to-date photograph without the disfiguring debris in the foreground?

Nevertheless this one error, regrettable merely because of the space taken up, does not prevent Professor Gardner's book from being, for its size, an extraordinarily comprehensive and judicious introduction to Greek Art. And an added value is given by a bibliography for the many who will surely be beguiled to further study.

J. P. DROOP.

Ninive und Babylon. Von C. BEZOLD (4th edition, edited by C. FRANK). 180 pp. with 160 illustrations, 6 coloured. Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing, 1926.

A work describing the civilisation of ancient Mesopotamia needs no recommendation when it has reached a fourth edition. That achievement is the guarantee of an excellence still unapproached in books of this kind. Moreover, the late Professor Bezold's popular manual is so well known that, in noticing a new edition (the last was published in 1909), it is necessary only to comment upon the changes which have been made. Dr. Frank has discharged his task competently, rightly preferring for the most part to leave the book as Bezold last revised it, but bringing details as far as possible up to date. The years between 1909 and 1914 were marked by much archaeological activity in Mesopotamia, and since 1918 hardly less has been displayed, with the result that much fresh knowledge has been gained, and many striking works of art have been recovered. The last subject has been the occasion of the only considerable modification of the text, the chapter on the art having been entirely recast. High praise is due to the illustrations, which have been much increased in number, so that new acquisitions can be shown without falling into the dangerous error of neglecting the older so as to make room for them. The only criticism to be passed upon the pictures is that their arrangement is unnecessarily haphazard. More variety is no doubt thus obtained, but much referring backwards and forwards is a disadvantage in reading so attractively written a work. The publishers are to be congratulated upon the excellence of the paper, print, and pictures, and upon the tasteful binding, all of which combine to make a very agreeable, as well as useful, volume.

C. J. GADD.

Echi di civiltà preistoriche nei poemi d'Omero. By L. A. STELLA. Pp. xvi. + 307, with map and 92 figures in the text. Milan, 1927.

This is a disappointing book. The authoress has covered the ground so well, and clearly has so great a knowledge of her subject, that it is a pity that her work somehow fails to be as convincing as we feel that it ought to be.

A first chapter deals with Homer's geography and actors on the Achæan side, while the Trojans and their allies fill the second, after which war, women, buildings, country and sea life each have a chapter in which the descriptions in the poems are set side by side, so to speak, with the archaeological evidence for the corresponding points of Minoan and Mycenaean life.

The book is very readable, a grateful fact which is due to a nice sense of style (so far as a foreigner can judge) and to a possessing enthusiasm, but it is this very enthusiasm that robs the book of much

of its value. For, though the writer adopts the very reasonable attitude that Homer cannot have had personal knowledge of the civilisation of Mycenae, and that any reflections of that civilisation that might be found in the poems could only be due to the survival of tradition, thereafter she wraps herself so tightly in the mantle of Schliemann that, instead of a critical comparison of the original prehistoric civilisation with the presumed reflection, she gives us in general a presentment of the Minoan and Mycenaean civilisations as definite illustrations to the poems, a position that can only be held by the help of a lively faith. To take but one instance, no layman reading the section on the Sword would realise that there is any difficulty in identifying Mycenaean swords as found with those of Homer's heroes. Yet the plain inference from the blows described by Homer is that his heroes' swords, even if we allow for a poet's exaggeration, must have been far mightier weapons.

Thus the book, though it contains good summaries of both Mycenaean and Homeric life, seems to fail in its primary object through excess of intuition and defect of the critical faculty. Yet the critical reader may be gratified for the pains taken on his behalf in the copious references to the relevant bibliography printed at the end of each chapter, a very sound arrangement. The illustrations are well chosen but regrettably poor in execution.

J. P. DROOP.